

# THE INDYPENDENT

## Bushwick students buck military

BY JOHN TARLETON

Luis Reyes is a senior at Bushwick Outreach Center in Brooklyn who wants to study journalism in college. He recently discovered that military recruiters had the inside scoop on him.

"They know my interests and everything," says Reyes, 19. "I'm already getting all kinds of letters and phone calls and whatnot."

The military's individually targeted appeal to Reyes hasn't worked to date. He still hopes to start college next fall at Hofstra University. However, the high-pressure recruiting experienced by Reyes and many of his friends suggests what lies ahead for students as the military aggressively makes use of a little-known provision in the 670-page No Child Left Behind Act of 2002.

The provision in the much-touted education bill requires high schools to provide military recruiters access to facilities as well as contact information for every student — or lose their federal aid.

"The military would choose to be in every school in every classroom in every community if they could, because overkill is their way of doing things," says Rick Jahnkow, Director of Project YANO (Youth And Non-military Opportunities), a San Diego-based group founded in 1984.

The military currently enlists 350,000 people a year. Its recruitment efforts have become increasingly sophisticated, and relentless, since it switched from the draft to an all-volunteer force in 1973 at the end of the Vietnam War.

It spends hundreds of millions of dollars to advertise on television, radio, web sites, outdoor ads, and in youth publications. It also operates Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC) programs in 3,500 schools, holds summer camp programs on military bases for disadvantaged youth, and provides guidance counseling, after-school tutoring and dropout recovery programs in some troubled inner city schools. Mobile recruiting stations also appear in shopping malls, at sporting events and inside theaters at showings of popular pro-military movies.

In Bushwick, getting the message out also means calling prospective recruits as early as 6 a.m. and showing up at their workplaces and outside of their churches, according to Reyes and Jesus Gonzalez, 17, a junior at Bushwick Outreach.

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## WHAT'S NOISY BUT SAYS NOTHING?

A LOOK AT OUR NATION'S MEDIA  
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## SELLING KETCHUP, SELLING WAR

BY LAURA MILLER

"In February 2001, when Heinz North America decided it was ready to announce a new color of Heinz EZ Squirt, the question was, could it repeat the success of Blastin' Green Heinz EZ Squirt?" So asks the Heinz EZ Squirt Funky Purple Launch overview. Food producer Heinz and public relations firm Jack Horner Communications set out to launch a product that consumers didn't know they wanted: purple ketchup.

Their stated goal was to "stir up meaningful media buzz for the new color for at least a month." The campaign succeeded. Heinz scored the editorial equivalent of \$6.4 million in advertising, nearly 330 million media impressions, and won the 2002 Silver Anvil for excellence in consumer products public relations.

So, how did a product launch campaign with a budget of just over \$100,000 do that? And how does it relate to the United States' impending war with Iraq?

The success of the campaigns for both the Funky Purple EZ Squirt and President George W. Bush's military action rely on shaping public opinion through the delivery of a persuasive mes-

sage to a target audience via the media. In short, they both use public relations.

In September, when the Bush administration decided it was ready to announce a new war with Iraq, the question was: Could it repeat the 1990 campaign to launch Operation Desert Storm?

That campaign, fronted in part by Citizens for a Free Kuwait, was a success. PR firm Hill & Knowlton spent \$10.8 million of the Kuwaiti monarchy's money to promote the U.S. "liberation of Kuwait."

In the most memorable moment, a 15-year-old Kuwaiti girl tearfully told Congress, and later the United Nations Security Council, of Iraqi soldiers dumping Kuwaiti babies out of incubators.

After the bombs started falling, journalists discovered that the girl was the daughter of Kuwait's ambassador to the United States and had been coached by the Hill & Knowlton team. The story had been fabricated.

This time, according to the Sept. 7 *New York Times*, the White House is following a "meticulously planned strategy to persuade the public, the Congress, and the allies of the need to confront the threat from Saddam Hussein."

White House Chief of Staff Andrew H.

Card, Jr. explained to the *Times* why the administration waited until September to begin their push. "From a marketing point of view, you don't introduce new products in August."

On Sept. 17, the *London Times* reported that a \$200 million "PR blitz against Saddam Hussein" was being launched "at American and foreign audiences, particularly in Arab nations skeptical of U.S. policy in the region." The campaign would be overseen by the new U.S. Office of Global Communications and use "advertising techniques."

### What color?

To start the hype for the purple ketchup campaign, Jack Horner Communications sent out a press release with a "mystery" photo — a plain black EZ Squirt bottle with a question mark on it. Journalists were supposed to wonder, "What color would the new ketchup be?"

Seven weeks later, Horner sent 200 media outlets a press kit and a full-size bottle of Funky Purple. TV outlets in the top 25 U.S. markets had already been pitched the story. Coverage of the new purple ketchup tallied 1,040 TV stories. In the following three-and-

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### What is the IMC?

With autonomous chapters in more than 100 cities throughout the world, the three-year-old Independent Media Center has become an international network of volunteer media activists.

The IMC seeks to create a new media ethic by providing progressive, in-depth and accurate coverage of issues. We are a community-based organization using media to facilitate political and cultural self-representation. We seek to illuminate and analyze issues impacting individuals, communities and eco-systems by providing media tools and space to those seeking to communicate.

Unlike corporate media, we espouse open dialogue, and the importance of placing the means of communication and creativity back in the hands of the people, away from the drive of profit.

The *Independent* is funded by benefits, subscriptions, donations, grants, and ads from organizations and individuals with similar missions. All reporting is done by NYC IMC volunteers unless otherwise noted.

**What can I do to get involved?**  
The IMC has an open door. You can write for the *Independent*, film events and rallies, self-publish articles to the web, take photos, or just help us run the office. As an organization relying entirely on volunteer support, we encourage all forms of participation.

The print team reserves the right to edit articles for length, content and clarity. We welcome your participation in the entire editorial process.

### Volunteer staff:

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# Independent Media Index

The world of media is alive with hundreds of valuable and exciting resources for information, tools, entertainment and cultural connections.

The following is a list of unique and alternative media sources compiled by staff members of the New York IMC.

### MAKE

**W.E.R.I.S.E** (women empowered through revolutionary ideas supporting enterprise) is a women's arts collective.  
[www.werise.org](http://www.werise.org)

**Paper Tiger Television** is an open, non-profit, volunteer video collective. [www.paperliger.org](http://www.paperliger.org)

**Third World Majority** is a media training and production resource center dedicated to global justice.  
[www.cultureisawepoan.org](http://www.cultureisawepoan.org)

**La Lutta** community resource focused on education, visual and performing arts and multimedia outreach.  
[www.lalutta.org](http://www.lalutta.org)

**People-Link** is an online organization of progressive activists offering a full range of web services.  
[www.people-link.org](http://www.people-link.org)

**Film/Video Arts** is a non-profit equipment rental and training facility. 462 Broadway, suite #520.  
[www.fva.com](http://www.fva.com)

### READ, WATCH, LISTEN

**Democracy Now!** is a national, listener-sponsored public radio and TV show. Listen on WBAI, 99.5 FM or watch on Manhattan Neighborhood Network, cable channels 34 and 107 at 9 a.m., Monday to Friday.  
[www.democracynow.org](http://www.democracynow.org)

**Davey D's Hip Hop Corner**, from the host of KPFK's Hard Knock Radio. [www.daveyd.com](http://www.daveyd.com)

**The Brecht Forum** offers a year-round program of classes, public lectures and seminars, performances, popular education workshops, and language classes @122 W. 27th Street, 10th Floor. [www.brechitforum.org](http://www.brechitforum.org)

**Redeye Magazine** is a nonprofit, youth-run political hip hop magazine.  
[www.angelfire.com/hiphop/redeyemagazine/index.htm](http://www.angelfire.com/hiphop/redeyemagazine/index.htm)

**Stay Free Magazine** is a print magazine focused on issues surrounding commercialism and American culture.  
[www.stayfreemagazine.org](http://www.stayfreemagazine.org)



Turntablist Mix Master Mike in a shot from *Scratch*, a documentary featured on Konscious.com.

**Konscious** is a website showing socially aware film/video, music and arts programming.  
[www.konscious.com](http://www.konscious.com)

**Free Speech TV** airs on DISH Network channel 9415 and some community access cable stations.  
[www.freespeech.org](http://www.freespeech.org)

**Anthology Film Archives** provides some of the best independent film screenings in New York. They also have an extensive research library of independent film history. 32 2nd Avenue (at 2nd Street) (212) 505-5181. [www.anthologyfilmarchives.org](http://www.anthologyfilmarchives.org)

**Alternative Radio** is a public affairs program and website providing information, analyses and views that are frequently ignored or distorted in other media. [www.alternativeradio.org](http://www.alternativeradio.org)

### BUY

**Imagination Digital Soul Cinema** is Harlem's first independent cinema, showcasing independent features and short films from the Afrikan/Latino Diaspora on Friday nights. 135 W 118th Street (7th & Lenox). [www.imaginationfilmfestival.org](http://www.imaginationfilmfestival.org)

**Alan's Alley Video** has the best selection of movies in New York City. 207 9th Ave # A (23rd street). (212) 645-0999

**Three Jewels Cafe** is a unique non-profit offering free internet access and a great library for borrowing and browsing books. 211 E. 5th Street (between Bowery and 2nd Ave.) [www.threejewels.org](http://www.threejewels.org)

**Bluestockings** is New York's women's bookstore. 172 Allen Street. [www.bluestockings.com](http://www.bluestockings.com)

**Soft Skull Press** publishes fearless, progressive, punk-rock/hip-hop literature. And they have a store in Brooklyn at 71 Bond Street (at State Street). [www.softskull.com](http://www.softskull.com)

**Powell's Books**: After you find it on Amazon, order it from this Portland-based bookseller's online store. [www.powells.com](http://www.powells.com)

**Seven Stories Press** is a small independent publishing house that consistently publishes many important voices far removed from the corporate publishing sector. [www.sevenstories.com](http://www.sevenstories.com)

**Fat Beats** is the premiere place for hip hop albums. 406 Avenue of the Americas. (212) 673-3883

### ABOUT

**MediaChannel.org** is a non-profit, public interest website dedicated to global media issues. [www.mediacchannel.org](http://www.mediacchannel.org)

**Fairness and Accuracy In Reporting** (FAIR) is a national media watchdog. [www.fair.org](http://www.fair.org)

**Reclaim The Media** has all the information you need to fight the FCC. [www.reclaimthemedia.org](http://www.reclaimthemedia.org)

**The Alternative Press Center** is a collective dedicated to providing access to and increasing public awareness of the Alternative Press. [www.altpress.org](http://www.altpress.org)

## WHERE DO I GET MY COPY OF THE INDYPENDENT???

### LOWER EAST SIDE

Bluestocking  
Bookstore

172 Allen Street,  
between Houston &  
Stanton

EAST VILLAGE

May Day Books  
155 First Ave.  
(btwn. 9th and 10th)

Kim's Video

3rd Ave. & St.

Marks

### WEST VILLAGE

LGBT Center  
213 W. 13th St.

UNION SQUARE  
Revolution Books  
9 W. 19th St.

CHELSEA

Asociacion Tepayac  
251 W. 14th  
at 8th Ave.

UPPER WEST SIDE

Labyrinth Books

112th btwn

Broadway and

Amsterdam Ave.

### STATEN ISLAND

114th and  
Broadway

HARLEM  
Riverside Church  
490 Riverside Dr.  
at 120th

Strictly Roots  
Restaurant

123rd St. and

Adam Clayton

Powell Blvd.

Harlem Tenants

Council

1 W. 125th,

Suite 209

### WASHINGTON HEIGHTS

Muddy Cup Coffee  
House

388 Van Duzen  
at 120th

STATEN ISLAND

187th St. and Ft.

Washington Ave.

WILLIAMSBURG

Clovis Books

Freedom Community

Center

455 140th St.

PARK SLOPE

Community Book

Queens Pride House

6703 Woodside

Ave.

### BUSHWICK

Make The Road by  
Walking

301 Grove St.

WILLIAMSBURG

Clovis Books

N. 4th St. and

Bedford Ave.

455 140th St.

PARK SLOPE

Community Book

Queens Pride House

6703 Woodside

Ave.



## MIXED HARVEST FOR GARDENS

BY CATHY BUSSEWITZ

Gardeners throughout New York City's five boroughs are working together to negotiate the results of the city's recent community gardens settlement, which is impacting communities in as many ways as there are beans in the vegetable patch.

In the South Bronx, professors from Hostos Community College who garden at Hostos-Crimmons camped out with the More Gardens! Coalition for several weeks to save their garden from development by South Bronx Churches.

They had received notices that bulldozers would be there any day. The garden has since been bulldozed.

In East Brooklyn, the Brownsville Gardens Coalition is organizing speak-outs and asking why they are facing a greater threat than any other neighborhood in the city. Brownsville is home to 10 of the 38 gardens that are scheduled for immediate development.

"We don't agree with the settlement," said Justine Roper of the coalition. "We're gathering as much support as we can, seeing

what legal action we can take."

On Sept. 17, New York State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer's office settled a lawsuit it had filed against the City of New York regarding planned community garden demolition. The settlement puts an end to the temporary restraining order that has been protecting community gardens for the past two years, and outlines which gardens will be protected and which will be sold to real estate developers.

Of the 532 gardens covered by the agreement, 186 will keep Parks Department protection, and 198 Green Thumb gardens will be offered to the Parks Department or land trusts. On the downside, 38 gardens are subject to immediate development and 110 gardens are subject to development after review.

Nobody knows how the officials of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD) determined which gardens would be saved. That includes the lead lawyers from Spitzer's office, who sat at the table during negotiations.

But elsewhere in the city, groups whose gardens are going to be offered for preservation

are debating whether it is best that they be protected by the Parks Department, or one of several land trusts.

Amid the confusion, gardeners agree upon one thing: it is time to come together to learn to advocate for themselves.

The agreement does give rights and advantages to gardeners. Those that are going to be developed must be offered an alternative site by the city. And those that are not yet preserved are required to go through an environmental review before they can be sold, a protection they did not have before.

But even with these protections, gardeners have to work hard at advocating for their land. "The gardeners are the ones that have to really take charge," said Alban Calderon of the Trust for Public Land.

Gardeners agree, and are exploring strategies as they exercise their rights.



**Francisco "Paco" Delgado, 81, has been gardening at the Hostos-Crimmons community garden in the South Bronx since the garden was created in 1995. Biology students at nearby Hostos Community College grow medicinal plants and spend time there with their children. The land on which the garden sits is owned by South Bronx Churches which wants to develop housing on the site. On Nov. 21, the garden was leveled by a bulldozer despite Hostos' offer to find an alternative site for housing.** PHOTO: AMANDA BERNAL

## BILLBURG STINK-UP: Powerplant looms over Brooklyn neighborhood

BY DIANA WURN

At the age of 31, Adam Victor opened his first 80-megawatt power plant in Syracuse, New York. Now Victor is nearing 50, and he dreams bigger. He plans to build a 1,100-megawatt natural gas fired power plant, with 328-foot smoke stacks (taller than the Statue of Liberty), on a nine-acre waterfront site along the border of Williamsburg and Greenpoint.

If things go his way, the cogeneration power plant will be churning out heat and power within four years at North 12th Street and Kent Avenue.

"TransGas promised a lot of things in Syracuse that didn't happen," said Pat de Angelis, of the East River Environmental Coalition. "And they keep changing their name so you think they've gone away when really they haven't."

TransGas Energy, the current name of Victor's private company, has also been known as Project Orange Associates, Gas Alternative Systems and Cleanpoint Energy.

As Project Orange, Victor's company wooed the community with promises of a community center and scholarships to Syracuse University for kids in the neighborhood.

Syracuse residents say that after the plant was built, there was no community center and only one scholarship awarded. But now they have a plant that pumps 900 tons of carbon monoxide into the air annually with the state's permission.

"We took one scholarship for the steam plant," said Onondaga County legislator, Carmen Harlow, to the *Syracuse New Times* in 1995.

Victor had committed \$100,000 for the community center and the Housing Authority promised \$250,000. The city was responsible for the rest of the bill, but funding fell through, and the community was left with nothing but an empty promise.

Now Victor has approached Williamsburg with his newest proposal. Article X of the Public Services Law requires that he "respond" to community requests, but he



**Adam Victor (inset) wants to build an 1,100 megawatt natural gas power plant on the Williamsburg waterfront over the objections of neighborhood residents concerned about its effects on health.**

does not have to alter his plans.

"TransGas will not abandon its proposed project if vocal segments of the community oppose it," reads the TransGas website.

George Semperos, a 15-year resident of Williamsburg, voiced concern about how a project that faces vehement opposition could proceed. "Not one person in the entire neighborhood supports it," he said. "Gov. George Pataki is the one person who could pull the plug on it."

"The whole deal is stinky," echoed community member Christine Holowacz at a recent benefit for groups opposing the power plant.

Neighbors worry about the health effects of so many power plants in one concentrated area. Five existing or proposed power plants already occupy a 1.5 mile section along the waterfront. The newly proposed plant would be

built a few blocks from a church, a school and homes in a community that has struggled for years to create a more liveable environment.

The new facility will generate nitrogen oxides, carbon monoxide, sulfur dioxide, and volatile compounds like benzene and formaldehyde.

Members from the Greenpoint-Williamsburg Waterfront Taskforce, a coalition of more than 100 community groups that oppose the plan, note that 2,000 tons of toxic emissions will be pumped out annually from the proposed plant. The towering smoke stacks would spew emissions up to 2.5 miles and wind could carry the toxins toward more densely populated sections of town.

TransGas says that the giant smoke stacks will be "visually inoffensive" and will actually improve the landscape. TransGas Energy spokesperson Colleen Roche called the proposed plant a "beautiful and stunning" addition to the neighborhood. When asked specifically about the side effects of the emissions, she said the plant uses "a clean, state-of-the-art natural gas technology." The project is in the "pre-application" phase of development, which means Victor must collect environmental impact studies on the land and air. An application is expected by year's end.

Victor is planning to open his checkbook to various community groups, hoping to influence supporters before the application goes in. But his greenbacks offensive has already run into the opposition.

In October, Victor was denied participation in the local Pulaski Day parade. Parade organizers in the cash-strapped community were promised \$10,000, but they declined on principle.

Earlier in April, Victor offered \$10,000 to the Polish-American Leadership (PAL) Council for "an independent" air quality study. When the matter was discussed with the Waterfront Taskforce, the check was voided and returned to Victor. The PAL Council then joined the Taskforce.

According to Rolf Carle of the Taskforce, this is just one of the ploys Victor used to promote his plant. "That's Adam Victor's motto: divide and rule," said Carle.

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## Stock brokers dive for coins, learn to share

Following in the footsteps of Abbie Hoffman's legendary 1967 "money drop," that halted trading at the New York Stock Exchange, members of a group called The Simple Way "redistributed" \$1,200 in paper money and \$1,000 in coins in front of the NYSE in October.

As the bills began to fall, three banners were unfurled, which read: "Love," "Stop Terrorism...Share," and "There is enough for everyone's need but not enough for everyone's greed."

Homeless people had been invited to the event by flyers stapled with one dollar bills. Stockbrokers, tourists and the homeless scrambled for coins while organizers shouted messages about sharing and love. Police responded with two dozen fully armed patrol officers, who then called for backup to prevent the sharing. One organizer was taken into custody and released.

From 1996-2000, 86 percent of the stock market's advances went to the wealthiest ten percent of the population. If hourly wages had risen at the same rate as CEO's, the average worker would be earning \$110,399 per year instead of \$29,267, according to [thesimpleway.org](http://thesimpleway.org).

## "Out of sight, out of mind"

As Mayor Bloomberg's "Quality of Life" campaign kicks into full gear, arrests of homeless people for offenses ranging from minor violations to felonies have sharply increased in the last month, according to a recent *New York Times* report. The police department's vamped-up Homeless Outreach Unit now works around the clock and has been responsible for 580 homeless arrests in the month ending Nov. 11, up from 499 in the previous month. In the same month last year, 288 homeless people were arrested.

The arrests have drawn objections from members of the Outreach Unit itself, as well as from the New York Civil Liberties Union. "They want arrest numbers; it is that simple," said one member of the Outreach Unit. "They are discouraging services to be offered to the homeless. They are encouraging mass arrests."

## Student protests escalate across NYC

Over 2,000 students walked out of classes on Nov. 20 and marched down the middle of Broadway from Union Square to Washington Square Park.

On the same day, 25 New School University students occupied the office of school president and former Senator Bob Kerrey, a supporter of the war on Iraq. Kerrey is a member of the newly created Committee for the Liberation of Iraq which backs the war.

And on Nov. 12, ten students from New York University's Radical Arts Collective staged a "puke-in" in front of NBC's Midtown studios to draw attention to corporate bias in the network's news programming. NBC is a subsidiary of General Electric Company, the nation's largest weapons manufacturer.

"About 10 people got sick, which is pretty good considering what we were asking them to do," said Peter Brauer, an NYU student.

# Casino kingpin terrorizes Oneida families

BY ANNIE VENESKY

Danielle Shenandoah Patterson's home has been demolished. She has been illegally held in a Pennsylvania prison and denied needed medicine. Now homeless, she may lose her three young children.

Meanwhile, the rest of her family and other community members are threatened with the same fate: the destruction of their homes, their community and the ability to practice their Native Oneida heritage.

"This," says the resilient 31-year-old with a stern anger in her voice, "is cultural genocide."

The conflict, occurring on a 32-acre territory in upstate New York, between Syracuse and Utica, pits Patterson and other Oneida traditionalists against an illegal tribal leadership led by Ray Halbritter, a Harvard-trained businessman.

On this small territory, Patterson's community practices the traditional culture designated for it by two Oneida clan mothers in 1961. It is the only undisputed piece of Oneida land that remains of the original 6 million acres occupied by the nation before the influx of European settlers displaced many Oneida. The entire nation, which consists of 11,000 in Wisconsin, 2,000 living in Canada and 1,100 New York residents, claims 250,000 disputed acres in upstate New York.

But since 1993, the 52-year-old Halbritter has forced more than half of the territory's approximately 160 residents off of their land. His 40-man non-native paramilitary force has also forcibly "inspected" condemned and destroyed the homes of 12 traditional families, including Patterson's.

"We are a community of women, elders and children, and a few older men... We are under 24-hour surveillance, and they [the police] are heavily armed... even though they have no deputation in New York State," Patterson noted in September. "It's ridiculous."

Halbritter usurped the traditional matri-lineal government and has ignored the Iroquois Grand Council of Chiefs, the confederacy to which the Oneida have belonged since the 14th century. He instituted an undemocratic and secretive Men's Council to govern the nation's affairs. Halbritter then locked the traditional longhouse and closed down the community food bank that served 280 families.

Having incorporated the nation as the Oneida Nation of New York, Inc., he established himself as CEO and built the Turning Stone Casino — the largest in the state, raking in \$167 million a year — as the cornerstone of an expansive business enterprise.

Danielle's sister, Diane Shenandoah, has spoken out against Halbritter's engagement in gambling. "Our spiritual tradition does not condone gaming," she said. As a result, Oneida Nation, Inc. has been kicked out of the Iroquois Confederacy, which is opposed to gambling.

The Grand Council of Chiefs removed Halbritter in 1993 as the Oneida representative and then notified the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The BIA accepted, and then quickly reversed, the decision, reportedly under pressure from Congressman Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY). Boehlert allegedly cut a deal with the Clinton administration, voting for the North American Free Trade Agreement in exchange for BIA recognition of Halbritter



**Danielle Shenandoah Patterson's niece, MJ Shenandoah, and her mother, Diane fighting for indigenous rights in this year's anti-Columbus Day march in Syracuse. MJ was assaulted by tribal police protesting the demolition of her aunt's home on Oct. 22 (below).** PHOTO: DANIELLE SHENANDOAH

as the Oneida representative for life.

Many suspect that official state support of Halbritter — including Gov. George Pataki's — is driven by a scheme in which Native American land claims are traded for casino contracts. According to a March report in the Rochester, NY Democrat and Chronicle, "Halbritter wants to run two of the three casinos in the Catskills" in a deal that would give "a 25 percent cut off the top to the state."

Patterson says the BIA's refusal to acknowledge the Iroquois' rejection of Halbritter violates the Two Row Wampum Treaty, which has existed since the 17th century and "clearly states that both parties, the U.S. and the Iroquois Confederacy will not interfere in each others' affairs."

The Oneida Wolf Clan, headed by Patterson's mother, Maisie Shenandoah, disavowed Halbritter's leadership in 1995.

While Halbritter reaps his millions, the other Oneida remain dependent upon nation benefits — dispensed by Halbritter.

This is why other non-traditionalist Oneidas haven't come out in support of the traditional community. "He uses benefits from the nation to make people silent," says Patterson's sister, Vicki Shenandoah. "Halbritter has said he will make examples of us. More people would stand up, if not for fear."

Patterson says Halbritter's intimidation tactics include assaults by his police force, including one on herself in November 2001. The incident was caught on videotape, prompting Halbritter to ban all media from the territory.

In response, Patterson and others launched a request for legal observers and set up a Peace Camp. Patterson says as many as 200 activists came from as far as Canada to participate. The presence of 100 observers this past Sept. 15 helped prevent a threatened demolition at the time.

But on Oct. 18, tribal police arrested Patterson, without notifying her lawyer. She was flown in one of Halbritter's private jets to Cambria County Prison in Pennsylvania, 300 miles away. Patterson was held for three days, during which she was denied needed medication for her thyroid condition. "This was kidnapping. This was not legal," she attested. "I was a political prisoner."



Patterson was also denied her right to consult with her attorney in confidence. "After a seven-hour drive, we were only allowed one 10-minute insecure conversation," says Heath. "My ability to prepare her case was hindered." Patterson regained her freedom only by accepting a plea bargain in which she promised not to interfere with the demolition of her home.

Her ex-husband, one of Halbritter's associates, has now challenged Patterson for custody of her two daughters and son on the grounds that she is homeless.

Halbritter representative Jerry Reid refused to comment on Patterson's case, saying only, "That situation is over."

Patterson adds that the many criminal reports that the Oneidas have filed against the tribal police — including a 1996 assault on Patterson's 70-year-old mother — to the local Madison County District Attorney's office have "all been ignored."

"This is a severe violation of ... international law. All indigenous people have a right to be free of cruel and inhumane treatment," she said.

Since Patterson is now homeless and has been denied compensation for her destroyed home and belongings, she and her family are looking for a seasonal home.

*For more info on how to help, go to [oneidasfordemocracy.org](http://oneidasfordemocracy.org).*

# Bushwick students buck military

continued from cover

Under the No Child Left Behind Act, students or their parents can sign an opt-out form to prevent information from being released. In late September, the city's Department of Education mailed the forms to parents of over a quarter million high school students, giving them an Oct. 15 reply deadline. Reyes says most Bushwick Outreach students were unaware of the forms and were barraged by recruiter appeals soon after the deadline passed.

The students' frustration at their loss of privacy boiled over on Oct. 23 when about 60 of them held a protest in front of nearby Bushwick High School. They demanded a reversal of the opt-out form, which would allow their information to be released only with their permission.

"It's for us to decide if we want to give them information," says Gonzalez, who along with Reyes is also an organizer for the Youth Power project of Make the Road by Walking, a Bushwick-based community organization. "If we want to sign up, we can walk down to the recruiting station on Myrtle Avenue."

Commander Edward Gehrke, head of Navy recruiting in New York, poured more fuel on the fire by responding to the protest in a letter to the *New York Daily News*, stating that most Bushwick students were plagued by police

and drug problems and wouldn't be eligible to enlist if they tried.

"It's clear what the high people in the Navy and the military think about people of color in poor neighborhoods," Gonzalez says.

Captain John Caldwell, public affairs officer for the Marine Corps 1st Recruiting District, which encompasses New York City, says the military is simply trying to offer students another opportunity. "They get tons of information from colleges when they are looking at going to school," he says. "We're also providing information that could help them get an education and a job."

Yet these promises of education and training are misleading, critics say. The present-day GI Bill is fraught with loopholes and stringent conditions that cause many soldiers to lose their educational benefits. Most soldiers train on equipment that is obsolete or has no civilian counterpart, or they perform specific functions on one or two machines, leaving them with few real world skills.

"Somebody who was a cook at McDonald's who learns how to pick up a tray of prepared food, put it in a heater, heat it up and wrap it, couldn't walk in the door of a regular restaurant and say I want to be a chef," says John Judge, a longtime anti-recruitment activist based out of Washington, D.C.

The Bushwick action has



Diane Greene Lent

**Bushwick teenagers gather after school at the Make the Road by Walking Community Center. Many feel harassed by military recruiters in their neighborhood.**

since inspired other youth activists in the city. Youth Bloc, a citywide network of high school-age activists, has decided to launch a campaign against No Child Left Behind as well as JROTC, which is currently active in about 100 high schools across the city. The Youth Bloc activists plan to visit a high school a week in each borough

except Staten Island, giving presentations or leafleting outside.

"It's our generation that's going to be the cannon fodder," says Mike Gould-Wartoffky, a Youth Bloc member and senior at Hunter College High School. "We want our generation to be in the front lines of the anti-war movement, not the war."

The Bushwick students look

to hold more anti-recruitment actions, but say their first priority is having more options in life than Army, Navy Air Force or Marines. "Bring college recruiters, not military recruiters," Reyes says. "F—the military. These kids want to go to college."

## CENTRAL PARK JOGGER CASE: Videotaped interrogations could prevent coerced confessions

BY DIANA WURN

With the emergence of new DNA evidence and a confession from convicted rapist Matias Reyes, New Yorkers have begun scrutinizing the confessions elicited from five black teenage boys convicted in the 1989 Central Park Jogger case.

"There is every reason to believe that unreliable confessions are a substantial problem in law enforcement," wrote Christopher Dunn and Donna Lieberman of the New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) in a letter to Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly.

In the Jogger case, the five defendants were detained by police the same night that a 28-year-old white investment banker was raped and severely beaten in Central Park. They were grilled for 20 hours without access to their parents or lawyers. When they were ready to confess, the video cameras were clicked on.

New Yorkers would do well to look to Jacksonville, Florida. The documentary *Murder on a Sunday Morning* describes a similar Florida case involving police misconduct and coerced confessions. The case led to the implementation of a new policy. Jacksonville now videotapes all police interrogations.

"It adds to the integrity of the interroga-

tion process both for the detective and the individual being interviewed," said Gordon Bass, Chief of Detectives at the Jacksonville City Sheriff's office in Florida.

Though still in its infancy, Bass said, the policy has already proved useful in protecting the accused and documenting police methods. Because interrogations take place behind closed doors and with few witnesses, an accused person who is mistreated has nothing but his or her word against an officer's.

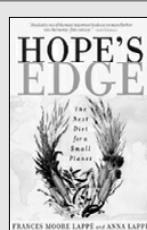
As in the Florida case two years ago, critics of the Central Park case allege that detectives initially wrote the confessions themselves. But there is no way to prove or disprove this charge without a glimpse into the interrogation room.

According to Professor Robert McCrie, many interrogations are taped already. McCrie, of the John Jay College Law and Police Science Department, stresses the importance of giving police "guidelines" for when videotaping interrogations would be appropriate. Currently, the decision to do so depends on the type of case and the judgment of detectives and supervisors involved. With the Reyes confession, the NYCLU has called for the police department to "start videotaping interrogations of suspects in serious crimes."

"This simple reform will help eliminate coercive interrogation practices and will help police and prosecutors respond to false allegations of coercion," wrote NYCLU's Dunn and Lieberman in an

op-ed piece in *Newsday*.

Still in the "proposal" phase, the request for reform has not yet been formally addressed by the NYPD. "All I can say is they're considering it," said Dunn.



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# NATIONAL

## BIG BROTHER ARRIVES

By IMC STAFF

"Smile, you're on virtual candid camera. If the Pentagon has its way, every American — from the Nebraskan farmer to the Wall Street banker — will find themselves under the accusatory cyber-stare of an all-powerful national security apparatus." Those were the words of Laura W. Murphy, director of the American Civil Liberties Union Washington National Office as the federal government prepared to okay the massive Homeland Security Act.

The Senate approved the sweeping legislation on Nov. 19, a week after the House, and the bill is expected to be on the president's desk by the end of November.

Sen. Robert Byrd (D-W.V.) called the Act the most far-reaching legislation he has seen in his 50 years in Washington. The ACLU, Byrd and conservative *New York Times* columnist William Safire were among the few warning the country about what might follow.

In a Nov. 14 column titled "You Are a Suspect," Safire wrote: "Every purchase you make with a credit card, every magazine subscription you buy and medical prescription you fill, every web site you visit and e-mail you send or receive, every academic grade you receive, every bank deposit you make, every trip you book and every event you attend — all these transactions and communications will go into what the Defense Department describes as 'a virtual, centralized grand database.'"

The plan includes a project named Total Information Awareness. It calls for the world's most expansive electronic surveillance system to be run by the Information Awareness Office, which could monitor everyone in the name of the war on terror. Search warrants will not be needed.

Heading the project is former National Security Adviser Adm. John Poindexter, who may be best known for being convicted of five felonies for lying to Congress and destroying thousands of government documents in the Iran-Contra Affair.

According to critics, the Homeland Security Act goes much further than creating an electronic Big Brother.



Says Byrd, "It is a compromise of our personal liberties. It is a compromise of the privacy rights of our people. It is a compromise of the checks and balances. It is a compromise of the separation of powers. It is a compromise of the American people's right to know."

Under the language approved by the House, the Homeland Security Act:

- Represents the largest reorganization of the government in 50 years, consolidating 22 agencies and more than 170,000 government workers under the power of the White House;
- Strips civil service protections from these employees by allowing the White

House to summarily fire or transfer anyone in the Homeland Security Department

- Empowers the president to secretly reallocate funds within the department, usurping Congress' constitutional power to budget funds;
- Exempts the department from the Freedom of Information Act including information that private companies provide the government. (*The Albany Times Union* notes that the following scenario could occur: A company that knowingly violated pollution laws could hide its wrongdoing, and escape lawsuits, simply by voluntarily providing the information to the government. The information would then become classified barring whistleblowers from disclosing anything.)

In addition, according to the American Association of Physicians and Surgeons, a section of the bill titled "Administration of Counter Measures Against Smallpox" would allow the government to administer "forced immunizations, detainment and quarantines."

In Congressional testimony in September Byrd noted, "The President has proclaimed that we are entering a 'new era,' one that will resemble the cold war in its concerns for national security. His proposal marks a disturbing start for this era and I am afraid may be a sign of things to come. The cold war began with an iron curtain descending over Europe. Under this bill, the war on terror may have begun with an iron curtain descending around our government."

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## 9/11 PROBE: BUSH GETS HIS WAY AGAIN

BY MIKE WU

The question "How did this happen?" still lingers. Many relatives of the victims of the September 11 attacks and politicians have been asking this. They have been pressing the government for a broad inquiry, but thanks to an obstinate White House, the investigation will not be as far-reaching or as unbiased as they would have liked.

Various groups of relatives and congressmen had been at loggerheads with the White House for months over the details. Bush and company won two major concessions: the ability to appoint a chairman, and raising the number of votes required for a subpoena to be issued from five to six out of the eleven commission members. The proposal passed the House and Senate as an attachment to the Intelligence Authorization Bill.

"They kept saying 'We just have this little thing to fix.' So we fixed that, and they would come up with three other things," says Stephen Push, whose wife, Lisa J. Raines, died in the plane that crashed into the Pentagon. "We're not crazy about the president appointing the chairman, but our greatest concern was the subpoena power."

The time frame of the investigation and the various topics it will be investigating were two issues the relatives of victims fought for and won. The time span is limited to two years, with the committee having the ability to turn in its findings earlier. Also key to the agreement was the role that Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) would play. One of the Republican appointees must meet his approval. The proposal would not have been approved otherwise.

"As long as Sen. McCain has one of the picks, and the others are people of integrity, then we're guardedly optimistic about this investigation," Push said.

The battle was intense. The White House wanted a chairperson of their choice, and it wanted the Republicans to

be able to block subpoenas. Acceptance of those proposals would have prevented the commission from being bipartisan and from investigating whatever and whomever it wished.

The Bush administration also wanted the commission to wrap up its findings within a year. Senators from both parties believed they would need at least 18 months to two years to complete the probe. That length of time would have meant the report (and any embarrassing findings) would come out in the middle of President George W. Bush's re-election campaign.

Bush and company also called for sharp limits on the scope of the investigation. Rather than focusing on intelligence, the White House wanted the independent commission to investigate other areas, including aviation security, border control, immigration policy, and the response of the North American Aerospace Defense Command.

The demand for limits on the scope of the investigation was especially stinging for those who lost loved ones. "More than half an hour after the second Trade Tower attack, the Pentagon was attacked. Why weren't jets scrambled to intercept that airliner?" Push asked.

The actions of the White House caused many to question the administration's real intentions. Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn) asked the White House, "Do you really want to allow this commission to be created? And if you don't, why not?" A coalition of four groups of families issued a statement saying they could not understand why the administration declared it supported an investigation "while apparently doing everything in its power to prevent the commission from being established." Leaders of family groups promised a high-pressure campaign against the Bush administration if the commission proposal was rejected. Not long after that, an agreement was reached.

Commission members may be appointed as soon as Dec. 15.



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11AM Meet at 85th Stand Central Park West (Inside Central Park), New York, New York

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[www.DECEMBER1.net](http://www.DECEMBER1.net)

# A PARTY WITHOUT A PEOPLE

Dems stay loyal to fat-cat backers at expense of popular support

By A.K. GUPTA

Pundits, politicians and spin doctors have diagnosed "lack of message" as the disease the Democrats suffered in November's election. The criticism is misplaced. If the Democrats failed to stand for anything in the mid-term elections, it is because their corporate patrons are their only true constituents.

Absent an active social base pushing them to adopt progressive legislation, they have shown themselves incapable of opposing corporate cronyism and tax cuts for the rich.

How could the Democrats assail the Republican party for Enron when they were also on the take? It's like a \$25 hooker calling a \$100 prostitute sleazy.

Opponents of the Republicans' extreme agenda should instead ponder the shift through the years from debating the contours of the welfare state to arguing about the parameters of the police state.

The G.O.P. stranglehold on power has been decades in the making. Starting in the 1960s with Richard Nixon's "silent majority" and cries of "law and order," it solidified with the "moral majority" and the 1980 victory of Ronald Reagan.

While the Republicans have some inherent advantages, namely as *the* party of capital and the military-security apparatus, they have also mobilized social movements, white-flight suburbanites, right-to-lifers and evangelicals, in favor of their authoritarian agenda.

In contrast, the movements that used to



**Divide and conquer: Even progressive unionists like Dennis Rivera (right) supported Gov. Pataki.**  
PHOTO: PR HERALD

hold the Democrats' feet to the fire — labor, environmentalists, feminists, blacks, Latinos — are in disarray. Unions are in perpetual decline, unable to get legislation passed that would make organizing more hospitable. The big environmental groups are fundraising machines more comfortable lounging in the halls of power than stirring up the grassroots. The feminist agenda, at least nationally, is limited to abortion rights. And while blacks and Latinos have made dramatic gains in political power since the civil rights era, there are no prominent groups or leaders pushing a visionary agenda.

The Republicans have a vision, albeit a creepy one: that of a divinely ordained, free-market, iron-fisted paternalism; a triumvirate of market, the military and God. It is the vision that pits America as the force of righteousness in the global crusade against terrorism and the evil hordes of Islam. Closer to home, it is the

vision that capitalizes on suburban fears of poor, darker-skinned "others" by continuing a savage and senseless drug war.

Progressive social movements have forgotten the importance of vision. That is why Marxism-Leninism, perhaps terminally sclerotic now, was such a powerful force for so long. It had a transcendental view, historical materialism, with a historical agent of change, the revolutionary proletariat.

What is needed are movements that once again speak the language of a grand historical narrative, instead of being crippled by postmodern subjectivity. There are glimmers of hope, in the global justice movement, the Greens and the anti-war movement. The latter displayed its new-found muscle in October, spurring 133 congressional Representatives to oppose the Iraq war resolution, more than anyone predicted.

In fact, powerful social movements can even effect positive change under a Republican president, as happened under Nixon with the passage of landmark clean air and clean water legislation, and the establishment of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and the Environmental Protection Agency.

The wresting of power from the right won't happen in an election or two; that was the mistake of the Clinton era, when progressives, in a desperate bid for power, willfully ignored his corporate agenda. Change has to come from below in a vibrant visionary form with wide appeal, not by pleading with the Democrats to market themselves better.

## Anti-war protests planned for MLK day

A series of anti-war actions in Washington, D.C. this January will honor Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday by resisting war with Iraq. The International ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism) Coalition has put out a national call for a march on January 18 and a "Grassroots Peace Congress" on January 19. A West Coast-based group is also planning anti-war actions in San Francisco. In New York, No Blood for Oil is gearing up for anti-war actions around MLK day or New Years Day.

Late in his life, King broadened his resistance to racism to include the war in Vietnam. In his "Beyond Vietnam" speech in 1967 — forgotten by the mainstream media — King declared, "I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demonic destructive suction tube."

## SOA protest

On Nov. 17, over 10,000 protesters called for the closure of Fort Benning's School of the Americas (SOA), now known as the Western Hemispheric Institute for Security Cooperation, a military base notorious for training Latin American soldiers. SOA graduates have been responsible for some of the region's worse human rights abuses.

Some 86 people were arrested for illegally entering the base. All protesters, however, were subjected to legal mass searches, metal detectors, and checkpoints, and arrested if they refused to comply.

## Oakland schools approve anti-war teach-ins

"When you go to war, you are setting a bad example for all the kids in the USA," a Sequoia Elementary fifth-grader wrote to President Bush. "Wars and fights are not right." She and other Oakland students from grades K-12 will soon have the chance to participate in teach-ins and learn more about what a war on Iraq might mean after the Oakland School Board unanimously approved in-school teach-ins about the Iraq war Nov. 13. "The pending war with Iraq is a matter that has the most serious consequences for people in this country," said School Board President Dan Siegel.

The voluntary teach-ins will be open to parents, and each school will be able to decide when, or if, the events take place.

## Beyond tear gas and rubber bullets

Is your city about to be besieged by hordes of unruly protesters? Don't worry. The National Research Council (NRC) is calling on the military to step up research on a new generation of nonlethal weapons.

In its Nov. 5 report, "An Assessment of Nonlethal Weapons and Technology", the NRC calls on the government to increase spending on novel crowd control technologies including "calmative" gases to sedate protesters and smelly gases to repel them.

The report also endorsed the Pentagon's "vehicle-mounted system that uses heat produced by high-power microwaves," which critics say is far from non-lethal. The NRC is the principal operating arm of the National Academy of Sciences and National Academy of Engineering, which advise Congress on science and technology. The Joint Non-lethal Weapons Directorate, a branch of the Marine Corps, currently spends about \$30 million per year on non-lethal weapons research. The report was released days after Russian forces used their own "calmative" gases on Chechen separatists holding hundreds of hostages in a Moscow theater, killing 118 civilians.

# TALKING TO A NERVOUS NATION

By NANDOR SALA

I worked at a telephone survey firm before the election. We took polls on races ranging from Senate to state contests for governor, agricultural commissioner, Supreme Court judges and state representatives, and local matches such as county commissioner and freeholder.

After some screening questions, which eliminated ineligible voters, we asked, "What issue is most important to you in deciding your vote?"

Among prelisted responses three choices ran neck and neck among respondents: reducing unemployment and creating jobs; restoring honesty and integrity to government; and improving national security and fighting the war on terrorism.

Voters in South Dakota, New Hampshire and Kansas were more concerned with terrorism and national security and felt more threatened than people in states with major urban centers like New York, Florida or California.

Protecting social security and improving education were also popular, while providing tax relief received few votes.

However, when people were allowed to name any issue, economy and jobs was overwhelmingly number one everywhere. "I don't know" was a distant number two. Schools and education was the only other issue that popped up with any regularity. National security and the war on terrorism were rarely mentioned.

How good was I in predicting races with my inside scoop? Early on I knew Elizabeth Dole would easily win the open Senate seat in North Carolina by the number of Democrats who said they were going to vote for her. I knew that in the last week Jeb Bush was pulling away in Florida, that the South Dakota Senate race was going to be a cliffhanger, and that California Governor Gray Davis was hanging by a thread.

Then again, I also thought the Democrats would win the Senate seat in New Hampshire, that Tony Sanchez would be the next governor of Texas and that the Democrats would hold on to the Governorship of South Carolina. Like most people I thought the Democrats would do better than they did.



**"When people were allowed to name any issue, economy and jobs was overwhelmingly number one everywhere."**

What was the X-factor? It was national security. People were and are afraid. It wasn't Bush beating the war drums on Iraq and drowning out all other issues. When I started polling in late June, with the corporate scandals dominating the headlines, people were still afraid. Maybe people in New York have gotten used to it, but across America many people still worry and think about homeland security.

DECEMBER 2002

THE INDEPENDENT PAGE 7

# Students & labor make common cause

## Living wage battles rage on college campuses

BY TONY PECINOVSKY

Think of Harvard and what immediately comes to mind is wealth, prestige and Kennedys. But, like many college campuses, there is a dark side to how workers on the campus are treated.

Harvard students, in April 2001, staged a 21-day sit-in on behalf of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 254. Harvard, the second wealthiest non-profit institution in the world, "was paying us poverty wages," said Frank Morley, a Harvard janitor.

Harvard's rival, Yale, is also on the forefront of student-labor coalition building. Last September, 800 Yale students and workers were arrested in a non-violent protest, demonstrating for the demands of the Restaurant and Hotel Employees Union for a contract that would include reasonable wage increases.

These examples of student-worker solidarity are one of many recent incidents in which youth and students have pressured campus administrations to sign neutrality and non-interference agreements when campus employees such as janitors, service employees and groundskeepers are in contract negotiations.

Between 1994 and 2001, Harvard janitors' wages fell 30 percent and two-thirds of all Harvard janitors could not afford health care. Many worked two or three jobs. In 1998, Harvard refused to adopt a living-wage standard similar to that of the city of Cambridge, where Harvard is located.

After the sit-in, things began to change. In Feb. 2002, Harvard agreed to a new union contract. Janitors at the school received an immediate raise, bringing their wages above the local living wage. By 2005, they will make \$14 an hour.

As part of the contract, janitors also received full health insurance for their family members and a guarantee from the university that all subcontracted workers will receive equal pay and benefits.

"When enough people get together," said Morley, "they can do anything."

### Students for labor

While the Harvard Justice for Janitors campaign focused primarily on improving the immediate conditions of the Harvard janitors, other student-led initiatives that have brought students and labor together have been slightly different.

New initiatives like the Federation of Labor Youth (FLY) and the Student Labor Action

Project (SLAP) focus on immediate issues such as pay increases. But they also manage to creatively breach the student-worker divide.

While SLAP focuses primarily on organizing young people by addressing issues that affect them as students, FLY focuses on organizing young people by addressing issues that affect them as workers.

While the AFL-CIO has endorsed and supports constituency groups such as the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), until recently it has not made the same efforts with young workers.

"We are building relationships for the long-run," Julia Beatty, New York coordinator for SLAP, said. "With the hopes that students will become active supporters of union organizing campaigns on campuses or in the surrounding community."

According to Beatty, SLAP, founded in 1999 by Jobs with Justice (JWJ) and the United States Student Association (USSA), "facilitates networking, relationship building and training," to address issues that affect students and union members.

This is especially important for youth that have had very little experience with trade unions and aren't familiar with the power that collective bargaining can yield.

"Nothing existed nationally to connect youth and students to labor," said Beatty.

One thing that makes SLAP unique is its ability to bring union "resources, manpower and training" to campaigns on the campus. SEIU, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees (HERE), Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) and Communication Workers of America (CWA), among others, have nationally played an important role in building "labor activity that supports students," Beatty said.

### Labor for students

FLY, founded this past January in Texas as the official youth organization of the Harris County AFL-CIO, signalled the beginning of a trend toward rethinking the importance of organizing young workers.

"There are tons of young workers, young trade unionists and young organizers," said Miles Rodriguez, FLY coordinator. "But, young workers are not organized. Young workers have different reasons for working. And they need a special way to address the concerns that young workers have."



Boston area janitorial workers celebrate victory Oct. 23 at Old Cambridge Church after waging a 24-day strike. With support from students and the community, the janitors won a tentative contract including health coverage, paid sick leave and 30% raises over the life of the contract. PHOTO: MASS. JUSTICE FOR JANITORS

One way that FLY has addressed issues unique to young workers is by hosting a Young Trade Unionists School. FLY's first school, held this past September, was a daylong event with 40 young unionists. Not only did it focus on the basics of organizing, leadership development, labor law and workers rights, it also brought young workers together.

While many students are workers, FLY doesn't consider itself a student-labor organization. Organizing students who work is seen as part of an overall strategy to "include youth into the labor movement," said Rodriguez. He added, "The goal of the AFL-CIO is to organize the unorganized. And youth are a part of that."

Despite the fact that SLAP and FLY approach the student/youth/worker intersection from different angles, both groups fight for young people's needs.

New York City SLAP is currently mobilizing support from trade unions to fight another round of tuition hikes at the City University of New York (CUNY), which are likely to force thousands of students out of college. According to Beatty, 29,000 students couldn't afford to attend college after the last tuition hike. A new round of tuition hikes will probably have the same effect.

Rodriguez envisions FLY as a national organization, endorsed by the AFL-CIO. "We are all workers no matter our age," said Rodriguez. "We are a constituency group and more. We are a way to channel youth into labor and train the future of union leadership."

# MONTHLY REVIEW

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# WET FOOT, DRY FOOT

## Haitians Discover Double Standard in Land of the Free

BY RAFAEL GALVEZ

MIAMI—When 211 Haitian immigrants landed near Miami in late October, they soon learned there are different sets of rules for asylum seekers — one for Cubans, and another for everyone else.

Shortly after their wooden freighter had run aground, helicopter cameras captured footage of men jumping overboard to swim for their lives. Women were also seen throwing their children from the ship with hopes that someone might catch them before they hit the water. The desperation of these most recent Haitian refugees highlights an immigration policy that many characterize as hypocritical.

In December 2001, President Bush supported an INS regulation that applied only to Haitians: that all Haitian asylum seekers coming from sea would be indefinitely detained (i.e., jailed) while they await a decision on their immigration status. But in mid-November, to almost no press attention, the INS announced it would expand this widely criticized detention policy to all asylum seekers except Cubans coming from sea. "It still is inhumane," said U.S. Rep. Alcee Hastings (D-Fla). "Rather than include Haitians in a humane policy as existed for everybody but Haitians, now they put everybody under an inhumane policy."

In contrast, immigrating Cubans have fared much better. In 1966 the U.S. government created an exemption to immigration law known as the Cuban Adjustment Act. Since then tens of thousands of Cuban immigrants have arrived onto Florida shores and legally made their way into the community.

Fearful of being detained, Haitian individuals who made it ashore following the October incident were seen sprinting across the bordering highway in a frenzied attempt to escape U.S. Coast Guard officials and reach freedom. Some of them desperately waved down traffic, climbed onto pickup trucks, or hung onto the luggage grills of vehicles.

Too hungry and thirsty to run, most were herded into custody. Other Haitians were pulled from the waters via speedboat as they tried to swim ashore.

This latest wave of Haitian immigration has put the spotlight on a community desperately calling for equal treatment. Two days after the Oct. 29 landing, U.S. Rep. Carrie Meek (D-Fla.) confronted a smiling Jeb Bush at a campaign stop in North Miami. Meek implored the Governor to urge his brother, President Bush, to intervene in favor of the recently detained Haitian refugees. Meek stated that President Bush could intervene on behalf of Haitians by calling into effect the 'wet-foot dry-foot' policy, which allows Cuban immigrants to remain in the U.S. if they touch land. In its current form this policy applies solely to Cubans, excluding Haitians and all other would-be immigrants. Uncomfortable with Meek's plea, Bush responded, "If someone comes into this country illegally they have to be processed through Krome [the local INS center]." Meek insisted that U.S. policy is harsher to Haitians as part of a deliberate strategy to discourage a massive Haitian exodus to the United States.



211 Haitians landed South of Miami Oct. 29, igniting an election year controversy over U.S. immigration policy.

Under the 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act, Cuban migrants are interviewed by the INS and then released while their asylum petitions are processed. They are eligible for U.S. citizenship within a year of their arrival.

The INS has defended its preferential treatment of Cubans. "It's apples and oranges," INS spokesperson Maria Elena Garcia told the *Bergen Record* in New Jersey. "You can't compare the situation of Cuban nationals with any other, whether it's Haitians or

Guatemalans or Mexicans."

Further evidence of the discrepancy in immigration policy recently occurred Nov. 11 when eight asylum seekers from Cuba arrived in Florida in a stolen crop-duster. Two Florida National Guard jets escorted them and they were received at the airport like movie stars, with drinks and camera flashes.

Just four days later they were released from detention to start life anew.

Meanwhile most of the 211 Haitians remained in INS jails.

## TERROR WAR TURNS ON CANADIANS

Beware of traveling in the United States. That was the warning the Canadian government gave its citizens of Middle Eastern descent in October. While Ottawa quickly rescinded the warning, the Canadian Islamic Congress issued an even broader advisory warning all Muslims to avoid traveling to the U.S.

This follows the new National Security Entry Exit Registration System, which authorizes U.S. border officials to fingerprint and photograph persons who were born in or are citizens of Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, and Syria.

"The U.S. is not safe for Muslims right now. Muslims are being humiliated, intimidated and treated as criminals at American border crossings," said Congress president Mohammed Elmasry.

Maher Arar learned the hard way.

A Syrian-born Canadian citizen, Arar was flying home to Montreal from Tunisia where he was vacationing with his family. On Sept. 26, his flight made a stopover at JFK airport in New York.

He hasn't seen his home or his family since.

INS officials detained Arar claiming that he had terrorist ties. (The Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade say no such evidence has been presented.) He was held in Metropolitan Detention Center in Brooklyn and then secretly deported to Syria where two months later he remains imprisoned.



Canadian Maher Arar was deported to Syria by the U.S. as he passed through JFK Airport.

Although he is a Canadian citizen, U.S. officials did not notify the Canadian consulate of their plans to deport Arar to Syria, where he hadn't lived in 15 years.

Interrogations and detentions of Canadians are not being targeted at just Muslims.

One of Canada's most acclaimed authors, the Indian-born Rohinton Mistry, cut short a U.S. book tour after one too many interrogations.

And Michel Jalbert, 32, of Quebec, remains in a Maine jail a month after he tried to buy gas in a northern Maine bordertown. Police spotted a hunting rifle in his truck. A background check revealed that 13 years ago he had committed a crime and thus could not legally enter the country with a weapon. He could face six months in prison.

—MIKE BURKE

## Court to vets: OK for military to break promises

A federal appeals court ruled Nov. 19 that World War II and Korean War veterans who stayed in the service 20 years have no legal entitlement to free lifetime health care despite promises from their military recruiters. The veterans received free benefits until 1995, when the Pentagon ended those benefits for veterans over 65 because they were eligible for Medicare. Many of them had to purchase supplemental policies, including Medicare Part B, to fill coverage gaps.

Although the government conceded military recruiters made the promises, the Defense Department convinced a 9-4 majority of the U.S. Court of Appeals that there was no valid contract because the assurances were not backed up by law.

## Paper trail... What paper trail?

The Bush Administration plans to strip the Government Printing Office of its control of information and documents generated by the government's individual cabinet agencies, according to a recent report by the *Los Angeles Times*. This would mean the end of a system, in place since the Jeffersonian Era, which requires executive branch agencies to send their documents and reports to neutral librarians, who then make them available to the public.

Claiming that he is only trying to save taxpayer dollars, Office of Management and Budget Director Mitch Daniels wants to replace that system with a more secretive one in which individual agencies would manage — and possibly sanitize — their own electronic databases. All an agency would have to do is call up the document in Microsoft Word and delete the passage for eternity.

## You won't see this on COPS

Corporate crime such as price fixing, fraud, pollution and public corruption inflicts far more damage on society than all street crimes combined, according to corporate crime reporter Russell Mokhiber. While the FBI estimates that burglary and robbery (street crimes) cost the nation \$3.8 billion dollars a year, hundreds of billions of dollars are stolen from Americans as a result of corporate and white collar fraud, says Mokhiber.

Health care fraud alone costs Americans \$100 billion to \$400 billion a year. The savings and loan fraud cost from \$300 to \$500 billion.

## Court keeps "War on Drugs" out of doctor's office

In a unanimous decision, a federal appeals court recently ruled that the government cannot revoke licenses of California doctors who recommend medical marijuana treatment for their patients. The ACLU Drug Policy Litigation Specialist, Graham Boyd, argued that the First Amendment protects the discussion of risks and benefits between patient and doctor, and the court agreed.

The ruling will allow medical providers freedom to discuss medical marijuana all they want, including the dangerous side effects, which include increased relaxation and the possibility of ingesting an entire bag of Oreos in one sitting.

## Prescription drugs in your cornflakes

Half a million bushels of soybeans were recently destroyed in Nebraska after they were contaminated by trace amounts of an experimental corn genetically engineered to produce a vaccine against traveler's diarrhea. The corn was produced by Texas-based ProdiGene, one of the leaders of a nascent "biopharming" industry that uses corn, barley, rice and tobacco to grow everything from injectable insulin and cholera vaccines to industrial enzymes for tanning leather. "Someone is going to get prescription drugs in their corn flakes," said Larry Bohlen of Friends of the Earth.

# MEDIA

## Ethnic press offers a world of words



BY GABRIEL WOODHOUSE

New York City is the "media capital" of English-speaking America. But with over 200 ethnic publications based in the metropolitan area, the city is also the epicenter of a vibrant alternative press.

Founded in 2000, the Independent Press Association of New York (IPA-NY) is the only association of ethnic and community publications in the city. Working closely with community organizations and social justice groups, the non-profit helps small presses with loans, technical assistance, and access to a variety of resources.

Among its many projects, IPA-NY publishes a free weekly selection of unique stories from different ethnic publications in "Voices That Must Be Heard." The stories present perspectives on a wide range of issues from various cultures, translated into English.

The following is a collection of some articles that appeared in "Voices" over the last year. For the full stories, go to [www.indypressny.org](http://www.indypressny.org)

### "Lack of interpreters harms immigrant patients, charges community organization"

by Ana Lledo, El Diario / La Prensa, February 22, 2002.

Latino immigrants protested the lack of interpreters in public Brooklyn hospitals last month, after the Brooklyn community organization Make the Road by Walking released a report detailing immigrants' inability to communicate with their doctors.

### "Legal immigrants sue for rights to food stamps"

by L. Fogel Russian Forward, July 5, 2002

A coalition of social advocates is suing New York to open the state food stamp program to all poor, documented immigrants. Two of the plaintiffs—73-year-old Brooklyn residents Yankel and Vera Teitelman, are immigrants from Ukraine and Holocaust survivors. The Teitelmans receive welfare, but live on food donated by charitable organizations, as do most of the plaintiffs named.

### "NYPDesi"

by Sujeeet Rajan, Indian Express, December 30 2001

According to unofficial figures, there are fewer than 20 Indian police officers in the New York Police Department and not a single Indian works as a firefighter. Here are recollections of two Indian NYPD officers working in Manhattan on September 11.

### "Daddy, don't be a fool"

by Fummi Adepiton, African Abroad, 15 April 2002.

Longy Anyanwu spent four years in a New Jersey jail for contempt after insisting that his children be brought up in his home country of Nigeria. His recent release reopens the debate about the best place for African immigrants to raise their kids: America or Africa?

### "Bangladeshi-American Drops 'Mohammad' from his name due to fears of discrimination"

by Lablu Ansar, Weekly Thikana, 3 January 2002.

Though regrettable, it's true that one Bangladeshi-American has abandoned "Mohammad" from his name through an affidavit. The man, formerly named Mohammad Reza, changed his name to "Reza Hayat," because, he said, he was victimized because his name was Mohammad.

## IT TAKES A VILLAGE (VOICE) TO RAZE THE MEDIA

BY MARK PICKENS

When do jaundiced business ethics tarnish a newspaper's hard-won reputation for feisty, progressive reporting?

Between Sept. 27 and Oct. 2, Village Voice Media (VVM) snuffed out a Cleveland newspaper on 24-hours notice, slit the throat of a union drive at the chain's second-largest paper and sealed a deal with its biggest rival to divide up markets in two cities. The actions have attracted the attention of the Justice Department's anti-trust division, according to sources close to the deals.

The events have left staffers at the six VVM-owned papers wondering what's happened to America's alternative press. "It just shows that alternative media is now a part of big media business," said David Eden, former editor-in-chief of the now-defunct *Cleveland Free Times*.

VVM head David Schneiderman pulls the levers for a consortium of Wall Street investment bankers and venture capitalists that bought the *Voice* papers for a reported \$150 million in January 2001. This was a step up for Schneiderman, who was previously the publisher of the *Village Voice*.

"We definitely think of David Schneiderman as the Wicked Witch of the West," says Erin Aubrey, staff writer and union president at VVM's *LA Weekly*.

The 2001 deal brought the 57-year-old *Voice* under the combined ownership of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, a group of Dutch investors and Goldman Sachs, America's third largest brokerage house.

The new management now owns some of the most-respected alternative newspapers in America, including the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Village Voice*, the *LA Weekly*, the *City Pages* in Minneapolis, the *Seattle Weekly*, the *OC Register* in California's Orange County and the *Nashville Scene*. With a combined circulation of 900,000 copies and annual revenue of \$90 million, VVM is the largest alternative chain in the country.

It took just months for VVM to institute its new bare-knuckles management style. In May, a dispute over unionizing the *LA Weekly*'s advertising department began to divide journalists and managers at the paper. Pressed by escalating sales quotas, post-September 11 layoffs and other job security issues, the paper's ad staff petitioned to join the already unionized writers.

Given the *Weekly*'s unwavering editorial stance as an ally of labor unions, employees were stunned when the new Schneiderman-appointed publisher, Beth Sestanovich, deployed every means at her disposal to defeat the organizing campaign.

"It was like Union Busting 101," says Aubrey. After questionable tactics, including intimidation, withholding of raises, and hiring a well-known "labor relations" law firm to help squash the union drive, pro-union staff were defeated by just two votes in an election held on Sept. 27.

"We're regarded as the gold standard of labor reporting in L.A." says Aubrey. "Suddenly [management is] at war with their own paper. It struck us as extremely hypocritical."

Sestanovich's union busting echoes events this past summer at the *Village Voice* itself. Staff in New York came within 24 hours of a strike after Schneiderman's management moved to slash health and retirement benefits, as reported in the July *Indy*.

Just five days after the coup de grace for the *Weekly* union, though, another VVM-devised hammer fell on the alternative news world, this time hit-

ting both L.A. and Cleveland.

Schneiderman and VVM colluded with ostensible arch-rival, Phoenix-based *New Times*, a chain of 12 alternative papers, in announcing a surprise deal on Oct. 2. VVM closed its *Cleveland Free Times* and paid \$8 million to *New Times* for it to shutter the *LA New Times*. As the only two cities where the chains had competing weeklies, the swap effectively ended competition between the two publishing giants.

Nationally, some 250 alternative weeklies generate \$500 million in annual revenue, according to the Association of Alternative Newsweeklies. VVM and *New Times* together rake in nearly one-third of the revenue.

The L.A.-Cleveland deal raised immediate cries of foul play from many corners of the alternative newsworld.

"We give the finger to all those who think this is a good deal for L.A.," said Alex Ben Block of the LA Press Club, alluding to the popular column, *The Finger*, which ran in the now-defunct *LA New Times*.

The move also came as a total surprise to David Eden, then-*Cleveland Free Times* editor in chief. "I heard about it the same day it happened," said Eden. "They had a few people come in from New York and give out final paychecks."

The controversies spanning from L.A. to Cleveland and New York point to a widening gap between VVM's business behavior and the editorial support its newspapers often give to progressive issues.

The *Village Voice*, for example, was going to print with a hard-hitting story on the woes of a construction workers' union (Local 32 B-J) in New York just at the same time its parent company was squashing its own employees' union drive in L.A.

Howard Blume, staffwriter and vice-president of the writers' union at the *LA Weekly*, thinks these changes bode ill not just for the employees, but the public at large.

"There's both a consolidation of media ownership and a shrinking of media jobs and that's bad in every way possible," says Blume. "There seems to be more news and more media than ever, but it's a mile wide and only an inch deep."

## COMMUNITY REPORTING WORKSHOP

### WANT TO JOIN THE INDYMEDIA REVOLUTION BUT AREN'T SURE HOW?

The *Indy* will be holding all-day community reporting workshops at our office DECEMBER 7TH. We will review the basics of journalism and then explore lead writing, interviewing, story research and how to develop news and feature stories. There will be lots of hands-on exercises, writing and small discussion groups.

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or email [imc-nyc-print@indymedia.org](mailto:imc-nyc-print@indymedia.org)

# SHARK ATTACKS, SNIPERS AND THUGS, OH MY!

BY EMILY REINHARDT

Mothers use their bodies as human shields, trying to protect their children as they take them to school. Drivers glance around anxiously as they gas up their cars. The streets are deserted as fearful residents stay indoors, peering into their television sets for the latest news. This is not Kabul or some other war-torn city, but suburban Washington, D.C. in the midst of last month's sniper attacks.

The sniper attacks launched a media blitz and an accompanying public panic. It's cause and effect: the media leaps onto a story or theme and the public fearfully watches and feels informed and entertained. Prior to snipers, there were child kidnappings; before that, there were missing interns, shark attacks, flesh-eating bacteria, school shootings, mailmen going "postal," and countless others. News (especially local television news) often influences a person's perceptions of the world around them. Unfortunately, the news often makes individuals feel unnecessarily afraid of their streets, their cities, their country and their world.

"The majority of Americans who get information on which to base decisions — whether it's voting decisions or what policies to support or what to be afraid of in the world — get that information from the news," writes Lori Dorfman of the Berkeley Media Studies Institute in the *Los Angeles Times*. "When the news limits the information that people get, that leads to distortion."

According to a Roper survey of television viewing, a plurality of Americans get their news from local TV broadcasts. In Los Angeles and New York, two of the biggest markets, local television news is watched three times as much as the national news broadcast. Local television news is also the most saturated of news sources with stories about violent crime; 66 percent of stories covered in 56 major markets of local news are crime stories. Stories concerning violent crime

runs every three minutes during the local news broadcasts in Los Angeles.

The sheer density of crime stories gives viewers a misguided sense of the real statistics on crime: the numbers have gone down steadily in the last 20 years. In 2001, violent crime was at its lowest numbers since 1973. Youth crimes dropped over two-thirds from 1993 to 1998. Homicide dropped 33 percent in the Nineties, while national news increased its coverage of violent crime 600 percent.

Prior to September 11, most Americans felt that "violent crime" was one of the worst problems facing the nation. 62 percent of Americans felt "desperate" about crime during the Nineties. Yet 76 percent of these "desperate" people had never themselves been victims of violent crime, according to a Harvard survey, but were concerned about crime "from the TV." In poll after poll, "crime" topped the list of Americans' concerns. Policy-makers and poll watchers took note.

"When mainstream media over-reports on violent crime, people end up with a distorted sense of their world culture," said Rachel Coen of the media watchdog group Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR). "[That the stories are] more frivolous is annoying, but there are real political consequences to the media concentration on these stories."

Larger than crime statistics and surveys is the climate of fear that these stories create. They contribute to specific attitudes about race and youth and justify biased attitudes and legislative actions. Though four times as many people are hit by lightning each year than were shot by the sniper, the D.C. community's reaction was to shut down school activities and refuse to go out of doors.

"I now only gas up at my local gas station... surrounded by buildings and people. I will not go to one that is out in the open near a busy street," said one Tacoma Park, Maryland resident in an on-line session with the *Washington Post*. Another Maryland resident had an even



more extreme reaction: "I use my body as a shield when I drop off my son at school."

Local crime stories are only the icing on the cake.

The media writ large has produced many "theme" stories over the years that were over-dramatized or later proven untrue. The difference now is that the amount of television, print and internet media far surpasses anything known previously. Stories stay longer in the public consciousness and the fear is more intense.

"Part of the problem is the 24-hour news climate. There were no cable 24-hour news channels 25 years ago and these channels have the need to fill space," said Coen. "It's news as a product, trying to make a profit."



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## HIP HOP: Don't believe the hype

BY EMILY REINHARDT & CATHY BUSSEWITZ

Hip-hop tsunami Eminem raps about killing his mother on the *Slim Shady* LP and garners a multitude of magazine covers. Tupac and Biggie Smalls' sordid murders and the "East-West Coast" war are national folklore. Mainstream media pundits behave as if hip-hop was a contagious disease. Even the New York Police Department has a special "hip-hop" unit dedicated to tracking the violence of the groups.

What the media ignores is the entire genre of hip-hop dedicating itself to positive messages, progressive politics and non-violence. Chuck D and Russel Simmons' Hip-Hop 4 Peace, formed Nov. 13 in New York City, represents the leading edge of this movement.

Hip-Hop 4 Peace, which includes New York City councilman Leroy Comrie as a founder, will memorialize the slain Jam Master Jay and address the issues of violence in hip-hop by asking artists to take responsibility for their words.

"My attitude is that hip-hop and rap can go to hell if they don't help us progress as a people. On the island of Dominica, they didn't have our kind of violent crime until they could get (cable network) BET," says Chuck D of the group Public Enemy. "Hip-hop has got to look itself in the mirror. It is fermenting too much negativity out here."

Hip-hop is attempting to look in that mirror. Besides



Hip-Hop 4 Peace, the International Hip Hop Conference for Peace was held at the United Nations in May 2001, with major players like DJ Grandmaster Flash and Kool DJ Herc attending. Simmons also organized a summit on hip-hop's media image attended by Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan and David Mays, founder of hip-hop magazine *The Source*.

The list of artists who have combined politics and hip-

hop is impressive: Public Enemy and Chuck D, Mos Def, Dead Presidents, Queen Latifah, KRS-1, Digable Planets, The Coup Spearhead and Michael Franti. Wyclef Jean has been arrested while protesting the New York City's education cuts and in March rapper Paris released a track "What Would You Do?" that critiques the PATRIOT Act and the "War on Terrorism."

Michael Franti of Spearhead uses his music as a tool to broaden his message. "What I try to do with my art is to enrage, enlighten, and inspire. Music brings people together and then they realize, 'There are 500 or 1,000 other people in my town who think like I do,' and that lifts people up to go out and become active."

Franti is featured in the documentary *This is What Democracy Looks Like*, which chronicles the 1999 World Trade Organization protests in Seattle.

But the attention these progressive artists receive is much slimmer than the bulk of mainstream attention given to raps about guns, booze and women. A Google search on "Spearhead" comes up with 198,000 hits; a Google search on Eminem comes up with over a million.

"You can have a hip-hop artist like Mos Def who has a searing political critique," says Guy Ramsey of the University of Pennsylvania. "But it will never be talked about in the same way as some guy who's talking about whopping somebody."

# Building a home in media

INTERVIEW BY ANA NOGUEIRA

*Simba Rousseau was homeless for seven and a half years. Now she has an apartment in Bushwick that she pays for with her storytelling. Starting at age 13, when she designed a house for ten dollars that would have cost the owner \$500,000 at "professional" rates, Simba was never afraid to teach herself new skills and do what she needed to get by. An immigrant in her own country because she left her abusive home without any documentation, Simba has made a name for herself in the independent media world. She taught herself photo, audio and video skills and has been published in The Independent and Rolling Stone Magazine. She is a regular correspondent for Free Speech Radio News and a cameraperson for Democracy Now! and PBS.*

*What started as a flyer making business when she was on the streets, Simba's own project, Universal Rhythms, now produces documentaries on the prison industrial complex, detainees, and immigrant struggles.*

*As a black, lesbian woman hustling the streets for spare change, Simba has battled some of the worst prejudices and injustices of our society. But through it all, her spirit has emerged as a determined force and it shines in her work as an independent journalist.*

*Simba, now 27, was born in Florida and spent half of her homeless years there. We start our journey with her in NYC, which she got to by beating a master at his chess game....*

**C**hess to me was the ultimate idea of what the game of life is. You either know how to play your pawns right or you just get fucked. That's how street life is. So, when I won the game, [the master] paid for my ticket to New York City.

I had always wanted to go to NYC. As a kid I read about the Harlem Renaissance, at a time when I hated myself for being black, for being a girl. I felt that, if anywhere, Harlem would be the place where I would find out who I was.

At first, I worked as a messenger because it was the only job I could get without papers. So just like an immigrant I was making \$20 a day, working 60 hours a week.

But soon, I was starting my

own businesses; cleaning houses, babysitting, and making flyers. That's when I developed *Universal Rhythms*, my trademark.

My first apartment in Harlem was a Section 8 building for people on welfare. I was paying \$550 per month. But the place was a slum, with a slumlord and slum management. No hot water or heat in the winter; no working stove. After about a year, I realized this was screwed up. So I started talking to other people in my building to ask if they wanted to start a lawsuit. Everyone was scared. They just wanted to live and hope that things would get better. But I couldn't take it.

So I put my case together. I learned housing law. I learned my rights. And I read a book about photography. I borrowed my friend's camera, this little shitty point-and-shoot. And I documented everything that happened in my house. I took my landlord to court with that. I represented myself in court and I won my case. From there, I thought, imagine how many people have no clue about their rights as tenants.

That's what got me into journalism. I taught myself how to develop prints. I happened to also bump into an old friend from Miami who was a photo assistant. And he taught me carpentry and together we built his photo studio from scratch. I became his assistant and we started getting big jobs. We traveled a lot, all over the freakin' country. That's how I learned photography.

He knew that I was into photojournalism so he told me about the Inauguration protests in D.C. Someone there gave me a card for the Independent Media Center. So I listened to all those archives, and they blew me away. When I found out about their independence day I knew I had to go. And then I found out that Amy was going. I knew if I really wanted to learn how she did it, I had to be in the field doing it. So I worked my butt off, enough to buy a laptop and all the equipment I needed.

In E. Timor, I met Deepa Fernandez, anchor of FSRN, and I learned a lot from her. I stayed with Amy and Deepa and the whole crew, so I watched and learned from them. But then I realized that what they were doing was different from what I wanted to do. Amy was interested in the high politicians, but I wasn't. I just wanted to be with the people.

I met this kid. He was 20 years old. His name was Abräu. I was shooting with my little Rolleicord

tions, and that was me learning to think for myself and speak for myself and find my voice. My voice was lost. But through each person I interviewed, I felt like I was speaking, that I was allowing my voice to speak.

## How did you learn audio?

I taught myself. I teach myself everything by finding people who are the best at what they do and I learn from them. Video was easier because I already knew photo. But I saw so much stuff as a homeless person, that's really where my eye started. To me, life is a movie and you can either be the character in a movie or you can be the director. And I guess I wanted to be a director because I love to sit in trees. When you sit in trees you can see the whole movie from the tree. I learn by watching.

Then I started listening to "Democracy Now!" I loved Amy Goodman's style of journalism because she asked tough questions. So I knew I needed to get in there to learn how to be a good journalist. I figured if we had a person of color journalist who could be that tough and ask those kinds of questions and do that kind of work, well, then you've got something going. So I came to DN! and started doing camerawork.

## How and why did you make it over to E. Timor?

Miranda [Kennedy, former producer for DN!] told me about Amy's reporting in E. Timor. So I listened to all those archives, and they blew me away. When I found out about their independence day I knew I had to go. And then I found out that Amy was going. I knew if I really wanted to learn how she did it, I had to be in the field doing it. So I worked my butt off, enough to buy a laptop and all the equipment I needed.

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ABOVE: Simba Rousseau in the studio of the national radio and television show "Democracy Now!" where she works as a cameraperson. PHOTO: ANA NOGUEIRA

BETWEEN: A sample of Simba's work in East Timor.

camera. This kid came up to me and had never seen such an incredible camera, even though it was actually a shitty camera. He only had a point-and-shoot. But he said, 'I'm ready to work.' I didn't have any money, just enough to survive. So instead of paying him, I gave him my audio equipment. In exchange he was my translator. He spoke English, Portuguese, Indonesian and Tetoun. So, we went around to people's houses and they showed us what happened to their houses and they told us their experiences during the occupation.

**When you were there did you ever reflect on your days sitting on a beach in Miami?**

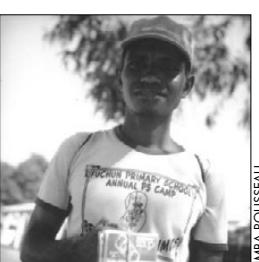
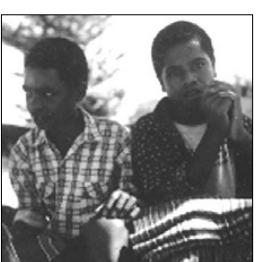
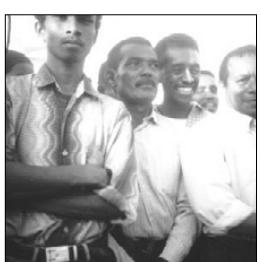
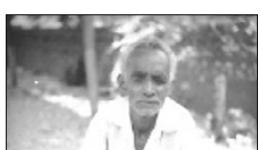
It's still hard to realize that I've come so far, mostly because I've blocked out about seven and a half years of my life. I still feel like I haven't accomplished much. Even in E. Timor I felt that. But occasionally, I would look around and say, wow, I'm here.

I've really just been very fortunate my whole life. Just the fact that I'm here. I could have been killed so many times. I've seen it

flash in front of my eyes so many times. I've learned to climb obstacles. I spent a lot of time in the mountains. To me mountains are like obstacles in your everyday life. When I was on an Indian reservation I'd hike a different mountain everyday. I felt like if I could conquer them there then I could take care of those mountains in the "real world."

I'm in this world by myself, obviously. My family is not here. I learned to be my own family, and cheer myself on in hard times. I tried every drug possible on the street. But the fact that I was interested in spirituality at a very young age is what kept me through it all. Otherwise I probably would have given up a long time ago.

I felt like giving up many times, but once you've gone through so much, you know you've come this far. And after you've hit rock bottom, you know at least that it can't get any worse, unless you just stay there. I didn't want to stay there, because I also wanted to help other homeless people. I wanted to move because I couldn't help them from where I was. I had nothing to help them with.



SIMBA ROUSSEAU

# OLD BOY'S NETWORK:

## Women still confined to media's pink ghetto

BY JENNIFER L. POZNER

Ask a feminist to identify the most important issue facing women today, and chances are, she wouldn't immediately point to the media. But she should.

Corporate media is key to why our fast-moving culture is so slow to change, stereotypes are so stubborn and the power structure so entrenched. By determining who can and cannot speak, which issues are discussed and how they are framed, media have the power to maintain the status quo or challenge the dominant order. Without accurate, non-biased news coverage and challenging, creative cultural expression it is virtually impossible to significantly move public opinion of social justice issues and create lasting change.

And how have media used this power where women's rights are concerned?

With a vengeance. From the earliest days of the women's movement media have branded feminism "a hair-raising emotional orgy of hatred" led by "freaks... incapable of coming to terms with their own natures as females" (*Esquire*, 1971), a "passing fad" (*New York Times*, 1972), and a "lost cause" (*Vogue*, 1983), a "failure" (*Newsweek*, 1990) and a "dead" movement overrun by "a whole lot of stylish fluff" (*Time*, 1998).

By the late 1990s news outlets from NBC to PBS portrayed feminists as wagging unjust "sex wars" and heralding a "gender Armageddon." And by the turn of the millennium *Men's Health* magazine reported that "militant," "hostile" young feminists are oppressing men on college campuses by insisting on strong sexual assault policies and women's studies programs. Today, similar sentiments span outlets from the liberal *Atlantic Monthly* to the conservative Fox News Network.



This antifeminist hostility can be felt in coverage of topics editors narrowly define as "women's issues" (e.g., rape, abortion, child care), where stereotypes are invoked and perpetuated.

Take the ways in which sexual violence is sensationalized and used to scare women into sexual and social conformity. Victim-blaming is still prevalent: "What responsibility, if any, did the women have for what happened..."?" asked Dateline NBC after dozens of women were sexually assaulted in Central Park in June, 2000. Then there are the endless, frightening headlines about attempted rapists on the loose. Since sexual predators don't just get bored mid-attack, behind every story about an attempted rape is the reality that

some woman did something to get away. So, why no triumphant headlines about women fighting back, fending off their assailants?

A similar framing problem persists in coverage of abortion, media's favorite hot-button "women's issue." Consider how loath media have been to label shootings, firebombings, death threats and other politically-motivated violence against abortion providers as "terrorism." Only after September 11, when newscasters received letters claiming to be laced with anthrax, did mainstream media finally "discover" the story — reported over the past decade in the women's and alternative press — that anti-abortion terrorists have subjected women's health advocates and clinics to a regular campaign of anthrax threats and violent — even fatal — crime for many frightening years (with more than 500 such letters arriving pre-9/11).

When issues fall outside journalists' pink ghetto yet implicitly affect women's survival (e.g., global trade, affairs of state, war), gender is rarely used as a lens for analysis.

For example, poll data following September 11 showed women to be more moderate than men in their views about war. Yet corporate media presented a misleading picture of a flag-waving populace united behind the Bush push for military retaliation. Because women were nearly invisible as sources, experts and pundits in news debates, this notion went virtually unchallenged — helping the administration drum up support for an unending "war on terror."

Similarly, though women and children are 90 percent of the world's sweatshop workers, editors almost never frame international economics as a "women's issue." Instead, global trade stories are told from

the perspective of transnational corporations, not the female workers who suffer labor and human rights abuses daily in overseas and domestic sweatshops. This pro-business bias protects the financial interests of media advertisers, investors and parent companies, while denying the public information that might make us question our personal consumer decisions or collectively challenge corporate exploitation.

If it is clear that women have a serious stake in media coverage, it is equally important to recognize that biased content is the end result of a much larger institutional problem — a media system structured in favor of advertisers and owners rather than citizens seeking information and entertainment; a system motivated by profit, not the public interest.

We are at a crucial moment for the media industry. The deregulatory structure favored by big media and its favorite lapdog, Federal Communications Commission Chair Michael Powell, would pave the way for the tightest convergence of media power we have ever seen in this country, threatening to subvert women's and public interest voices more thoroughly than ever. We have two choices: we can sit back and wait until all our news is filtered through the lens of MSNBC-NNBCSABCFOXAOLWB, Inc. — or we can work for progressive feminist media reform.

Jennifer L. Pozner is founder of Women In Media & News (WIMN), a women's media monitoring, training and outreach organization. This piece is adapted from "The 'Big Lie': False Feminist Death Syndrome, Profit, and the Media," in the forthcoming *Catching A Wave: Reclaiming Feminism for the 21st Century*.

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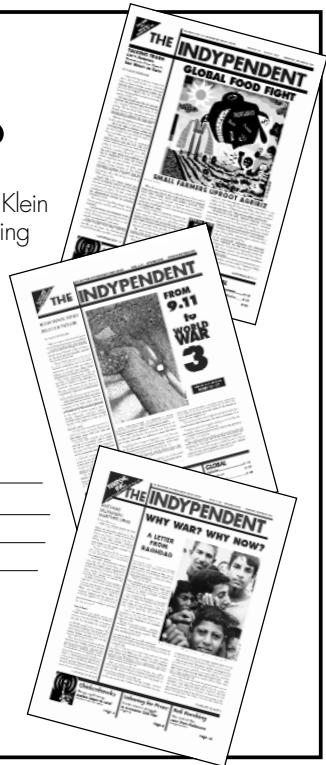
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# RADIO, RADIO:

## Clear Channel makes monopoly nightmare a reality

BY JEFF PERLSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO — Think of a Texas-based multinational company that is facing a Department of Justice investigation, lawsuits for inappropriate business practices, a flurry of criticism in the mainstream press, and a bill in congress to curb its impact on the industry.

Did you think Enron? Try again.

This 800-lb. Texas gorilla has spent \$30 billion since 1996 to buy its way into becoming the world's largest radio broadcaster, concert promoter, and outdoor advertising firm. Clear Channel Communications of San Antonio, TX may not be a household name yet, but in less than six years it has rocketed to a place alongside NBC and Gannett as one of the largest media companies in the United States and gained a reputation in the radio and concert promotion industries for its ugly hardball tactics.

It has played a leading role in destroying media diversity in the United States. And yes, it is the same media company that allegedly "blacklisted" certain songs following September 11, including Cat Stevens' "Peace Train" and John Lennon's "Imagine."

Before passage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act, a company could not own more than 40 radio stations in the entire country. With the Act's sweeping relaxation of ownership limits, Clear Channel now owns approximately 1,225 radio stations in 300 cities and dominates the audience share in 100 of 112 major areas. Its closest competitors — CBS and ABC, media giants in their own right — own only one-fifth as many stations.

"It's not just how big and powerful they are but how they do business, the arm twisting," Mike Jacobs, former independent label owner and manager of Blink 182, told Eric Boehlert who has been covering Clear Channel's shady business practices for Salon.com.

Accusations abound that Clear

Channel has illegally used its dominance in radio to help secure control of the nation's live entertainment business. Several cities, including Denver and Cincinnati, have accused radio station managers of threatening to withdraw certain music from rotation if the artists do not perform at a Clear Channel venue.

This tactic, "negative synergy," has allegedly been used to pressure record companies into buying radio advertising spots in cities where they want to book concert venues.

With this anti-competitive tactic of leveraging airplay against concert performances, Clear Channel has firmly solidified its hold in both areas. As a result, Clear Channel now owns, operates or exclusively books the vast majority of amphitheaters, arenas and clubs in the country. It also controls the most powerful promoters, who last year sold 27 million concert tickets. That is 23 million more than the closest competitor.

Clear Channel's mode of operation is also accelerating the homogenization of programming on the airwaves. The company shuts out independent artists who can't afford to go through high-priced middlemen, and is responsible for taking the practice of voice tracking to new heights (or depths, depending on your perspective).

Voice tracking is the practice of creating brief, computer-assisted voice segments that attempt to fool the listener into thinking that a program is locally produced, when in fact the same content is being broadcast to upwards of 75 stations nationwide from a central site. So you have one overworked "radio personality" recording the phrases, "Hello Topeka!" "Hi Springfield!" "How you feeling Oakland?" all day long.

Voice tracking is also part of another Clear Channel homogenizing strategy. In cities across America they have set up stations with call letters which sound like KISS-FM so that everywhere you

BEHEMOTH IN BRIEF	
<b>ClearChannel, Inc.</b>	
<b>HEADQUARTERS:</b>	San Antonio, Texas
<b>REVENUE:</b>	\$7.97 billion in 2001
<b>EMPLOYEES:</b>	55,000
<b>Radio</b>	
<b>RADIO STATIONS:</b>	1200 stations in all 50 states & DC
<b>WEEKLY AUDIENCE:</b>	110 million, 54% of Americans aged 14-59
<b>MARKET SHARE:</b>	20% of U.S. radio advertising
<b>INTERNATIONAL:</b>	250 stations in Mexico, New Zealand, and 63 other countries
<b>Programming</b> (Premier Radio Network)	
<b>PROGRAMMING:</b>	100 radio shows including Rush Limbaugh, Dr. Laura & Casey Kasem
<b>REACH:</b>	7,800 stations
<b>WEEKLY AUDIENCE:</b>	180 million
<b>Television</b>	
<b>TV STATIONS:</b>	36 stations in 28 cities
<b>AFFILIATES:</b>	ABC, CBS, FOX, NBC, UPN & WB
<b>Concerts</b>	
<b>AMPITHEATERS:</b>	41
<b>EVENTS HELD:</b>	26,000/year
<b>ATTENDEES:</b>	66 million/year
<b>Outdoor Advertising</b>	
<b>WHERE:</b>	46 major U.S. cities and many other countries
<b>WHAT:</b>	776,000 outdoor ads on billboards, taxis, truck panels, buses, in train stations and airports, the Times Square Spectacolor, bus shelters in Northern Ireland, 85% of outdoor ads in Singapore, 12,000 ads in China, etc.
<b>U.S. AUDIENCE:</b>	"more than half of U.S. adults"

hear the same songs, the same DJs and the same presentation when you tune in to KISS-FM.

Such branding and consolidation is clearly counter to the Federal Communications Commission's mandate to encourage media diversity. Fortunately, long-standing concerns of media activists are now being echoed by the mainstream press, courts and regulatory agencies, and members of Congress.

Clear Channel is currently facing antitrust lawsuits from a wide range of plaintiffs around the country, including an Illinois concertgoer concerned with soaring ticket

prices and the nation's largest Latino-owned radio company.

Last summer a small Denver-area concert promoter, called Nobody in Particular Presents, sued the media behemoth for antitrust violations, claiming that it "has used its size and clout to coerce artists ... to use Clear Channel to promote their concerts or else risk losing airplay."

The judge agreed to hear the case, and ruled that the evidence is "sufficient to make a case of monopolization and attempted monopolization under Section 2 of the Sherman Act."

As a result, the halo of silence

surrounding the company's anti-competitive practices may finally be shattered.

Plaintiffs' lawyers will be able to compel music industry insiders to testify regarding the often-repeated, off-the-record allegations that Clear Channel's radio stations have illegally rewarded or punished artists based on their dealings with the company's concert division.

Community coalitions that hold Clear Channel accountable for the negative effects of over consolidation have also emerged in Detroit and San Francisco. Letter writing campaigns have urged elected officials to reign in the company and make policy changes to protect the public interest. Several websites and hundreds of listservs have been providing information about Clear Channel's excesses and communities' resistance.

At a Reclaim the Media Conference in Seattle in mid-September, a national coalition launched a campaign strategically to coordinate efforts, amplify their impact, and link up with broader media-policy initiatives.

Nationally-recognized organizations such as Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, the Democratic Media Legal Project, Media Alliance, and Prometheus Radio Project began mapping out steps to mobilize public pressure against Clear Channel.

"The political terrain is really shifting," says Robert W. McChesney, author and professor of communications at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, in an interview by Randy Dotinga in *Wirednews.com*. "There's an opportunity for discussion about radio that would have been unthinkable six months or a year ago."

*Jeff Perlstein is the executive director of Media Alliance. To get involved with the national campaign to curtail Clear Channel, see [www.media-alliance.org](http://www.media-alliance.org) or [www.clearchannelsucks.org](http://www.clearchannelsucks.org).*

## FCC says free market, not free press

BY ALIZA DICHTER

If you think big media aren't serving the public, be worried, because the problems could get much worse.

Under intense lobbying pressure and lawsuits brought by corporate media, the federal government is now considering eliminating the media-ownership limits designed to protect diversity of viewpoints and ensure communities have media that cover relevant local issues.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) is required by law to seek public comments before eliminating rules that prevent a single company from dominating a local media market. But the FCC has refused to hold public hearings, the comment process is arcane and technical, and the clock is ticking rapidly.

Despite such barriers, activists and

organizers are building coalitions, and preparing petitions against what former FCC Chairman Reed Hundt has called "the most radical view of media consolidation that any democracy has ever supported ... exclusively driven by ideology and business interests."

By all rights, media regulation should be a prominent public policy issue. The First Amendment is designed to protect the public's right to be informed through uncensored media and diverse voices.

However, big media see the current FCC and its chairman Michael Powell (son of Secretary of State Colin Powell) as an ally. Powell is an outspoken opponent of government regulation who has dismissed the concept of the public interest as "an empty vessel" and swears "the market is my religion."

In this digital age defined by the

Internet, cell phones, satellites and wireless technologies, the FCC has become one of the most powerful bodies in Washington, D.C., and media policy is one of the most high-priced issues in politics. Lobbying expenses for the communications industry stand at roughly \$125 million annually, more than twice the amount spent by defense firms, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

But for all the attention in Washington, media regulation is not a public issue; perhaps it should be no surprise that these issues aren't covered by big media. The FCC's rapid moves to privatize the public airwaves was chosen by Project Censored as the most important news story not reported by the mainstream media in 2001.

Ever since this latest wave of ownership deregulation began in 2000, public interest advocates, consumer groups and labor

unions dedicated to these issues have been waging resistance. Media workers unions have warned that media mergers mean lost jobs and that ownership limits are needed to protect diversity of views in the media.

"The FCC is considering eliminating the rules that prevent a few corporations and wealthy individuals from gaining a veritable chokehold on free expression and public discourse over America's public airwaves," argued Victoria Riskin, president of the Writers Guild of America, West.

Media historian Robert W. McChesney told the *Columbia Journalism Review*, "There's no possible argument that this could be good for the quality of journalism. There's no upside. The only question is how bad the downside will be."

*Aliza Dichter is co-founder and sr. editor of Media Channel, a public interest website dedicated to global media issues.*

# Rabble rousers and muckrakers

BY DONALD PANETH

Assailed as rabble rousers, wild women, muckrakers, and worse, dissident journalists have always been lively, rambunctious and disturbing as they fought for change.

In *Voices of Revolution: The Dissident Press in America*, Rodger Streitmatter, professor of journalism at American University, comes through with a down-to-earth, no-frills history of oppositionist publications and the long travail of radical journalists.

Their newspapers and magazines gave voice to the disenfranchised and exploited, bringing progressive issues to the nation's attention and articulating positions belittled or ignored by mainstream papers of the time. In most cases, the circulations of their publications remained small. The journalists themselves endured legal, physical and psychological attacks by law enforcement authorities.

Streitmatter presents 14 case studies. He considers such figures as abolitionist publisher William Lloyd Garrison; William Heighton, editor and publisher of one of the first labor papers in America; Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, pioneering feminists; Julius Augustus Wayland, socialist; and Emma "Red Emma" Goldman, anarchists.

He examines the work of Robert S. Abbott, publisher of the weekly *Chicago Defender* who encouraged oppressed southern blacks to head north; Margaret Sanger, who demanded wide availability of birth control information; Dorothy Day,

founder of the *Catholic Worker*; I.F. Stone who was blanketed out by the traditional press, founded *I.F. Stone's Weekly*; and scored beats by digging through government documents; Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, who established not only the Black Panther party but its newspaper which marked up a weekly circulation of 100,000.

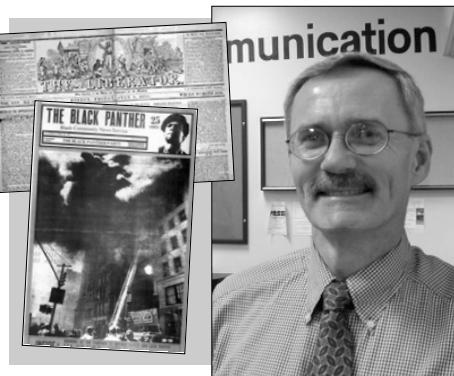
It's not a short list.

More than a few of these non-traditional journalists ended up badly. Wayland committed suicide. Parsons was hung. Goldman was deported. Sanger fled the country. John Sinclair, editor of a Sixties-era Detroit paper, was sentenced to 10 years in prison for possessing two marijuana cigarettes. Fred Hampton, a Chicago leader of the Black Panther party who contributed to its newspaper, was shot to death in a police raid.

Streitmatter's story begins in the 1820s with America's first labor paper — *Heighton's Mechanic's Free Press*. Heighton was a shoemaker who bought a used printing press and launched the weekly, four-page paper, with his wife Ann setting type. He campaigned for a ten-hour workday, opposed child labor and demanded tax-supported schools. The paper, published from 1828 to 1831, reached a circulation of 2,000.

Garrison published his abolitionist paper, *The Liberator*; each week from 1831 to 1865, attaining a circulation of 2,500 subscribers. "No compromise with Slavery!" he said. "Liberty for all, and forever!"

Wayland founded *Appeal to Reason*, a socialist weekly based in Girard, Kansas (pop.



From William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist *Liberator* to The Black Panther (inset) Rodger Streitmatter's *Voices of Revolution* traces the history of the dissident press in the U.S.

2,500), which built a paid subscription base of 760,000. *Appeal to Reason* condemned capitalism, demanded public ownership of the means of production and supported Eugene V. Debs for president. "If we could put a socialist paper every week into the hands of every voter in the United States, we could capture the government," Wayland wrote. He published from 1895 to 1922.

Sanger established *Woman Rebel* in 1914, was arrested, took off abroad, returned to the United States, and founded *Birth Control Review*. "No gods, no masters," Sanger proclaimed. "The aim of this journal will be to stimulate working women to think for themselves."

In 1933, Day established the *Catholic Worker*, a monthly concerned with the poor and powerless, centerpiece of a movement which opened 100 "houses of hospitality" for the homeless in dozens of American cities. Day's anti-war and anti-nuclear agitations

were legendary. *The Catholic Worker*, with a circulation of more than 60,000, continues to be sold for one cent.

And so on — every journalist worthy of study.

Which brings up the painful, difficult question of contemporary dissident press. With the prospect of endless war, a militarized America in which dissent is hard to sustain and politics in absentia, what are the objectives of the dissident press to be? How might it reach its potential readership?

Today's dissident journalists seem to struggle with more universal issues — U.S. military domination, corporate globalization, media mega-monopolies, climate change. These days, it is more difficult to get a social movement going; populations are more passive, uncertain. The political terrain is narrower.

Streitmatter's volume offers guidance as the American mavericks of yesteryear speak directly to their counterparts in the present.

And that ain't bad.

## TV is good for you... really

Children in the United States on average spend more hours per year in front of the television (1,023) than in the classroom (900). And, *Newsweek* thinks that's just fine. In his Nov. 12 cover story ("Why TV Is Good for Kids"), *Newsweek* writer Daniel McGinn explains that TV is good because kids learn from television and parents are "looking for TV to help them do a better job of raising kids."

One of the experts McGinn quotes (Daniel Anderson, a professor of psychology at the University of Massachusetts) also happens to be a paid consultant to a variety of television networks and advertising interests. His clients include: NBC, CBS, Universal Pictures, Sony, General Mills, the Leo Burnett ad agency, Nickelodeon and the National Association of Broadcasters. As for *Newsweek*, its parent, the Washington Post Co., owns six TV stations and Cable ONE, an owner and operator of cable television systems serving subscribers across the country.

## TV show to revel in death and misfortune

Coming up with new ways to drive down the intelligence quotient of Americans is a full-time job for ABC. The network recently approved a new reality-based game show in which the relatives of a wealthy benefactor are pitted against each other to win the fortune once he or she dies. Rich people eager to destroy their families can apply to join "The Will," created by the same producer who gave us "Who Wants To Be A Millionaire?"

## PBS snubs independent filmmakers

The Public Broadcast System (PBS) has been refusing to air films or documentaries made by independent producers, according to a publication called *Media File*.

PBS gatekeepers have turned away countless independent filmmakers with the explanation that their work is too controversial, it comes from the wrong sources, or their production quality does not meet PBS standards.

Among the rejected were: *Deadly Deception*, an expose of radiation poisoning of workers and residents by General Electric nuclear weapons production that won the 1991 Academy Award for Best Documentary Short; *The Money Lenders*, a film about the impact of the World Bank and the IMF on developing countries; and Danny Schechter's *Falun Gong* film, *Gongs Challenge to China*.

## Ask and ye shall receive

When MTV refused last month to play a Public Enemy video that mentioned the names of imprisoned civil rights activists Mumia Abu-Jamal and Jamil Al-Amin (the former H. Rap Brown), the Free Mumia Coalition vowed to protest the network's censorship and preference for negative racial stereotyping. But after MTV got wind of the protest plans, they began to play the video, and according to organizers, were so apologetic that they are now giving away free audio CD-ROMs of the song to anyone who asks.

## NPR devours community radio stations

Community voices beware! National Public Radio (NPR) affiliates are devouring locally produced community and university stations nationwide, according to media watchdog, Fairness and Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR). Through what are called "local management agreements," community and college radio stations in California, Milwaukee and Chicago have been sold off cheaply to NPR affiliates allegedly in exchange for their ability to increase revenue for schools and universities.

# Video revolution in Chiapas

The Chiapas Media Project (CMP), founded in 1998, is a joint United States-Mexico project that provides video equipment, computers and training to indigenous and *campesino* communities in southern Mexico, seeking to create their own media and to document their lives and struggles.

Various groups from both the U.S. and Mexico have come together to bring the tools of media to Mexico's peasant farmers. To date CMP has placed 54 video cameras in 47 different communities.

A core group of CMP organizers has taught and trained more than 200 youths in camera usage.

Indigenous and *campesino* filmmakers have created videos on the Zapatistas of Chiapas, women's collectives and anti-logging efforts.

*Defending the Forest*, a video by CMP and the Miguel Agustín Pro Juarez Human Rights Center has received international attention. The video was integral to the release from prison of two members of the Organization of

Campesino Environmentalists who were jailed for protesting illegal logging in the coastal state of Guerrero.



Human rights groups such as Amnesty International, the Sierra Club and Greenpeace distributed the video in the campaign to free activists Rodolfo Montiel and Teodoro Cabrera.

CMP plans to produce videos for various non-governmental organizations and set up a video archive for other media outlets to utilize, says Jason Wallach, a CMP coordinator in Chicago. Setting up a video archive could prove to be important as CMP works with mainstream media outlets such as *La Jornada*, one of Mexico's largest newspapers.

In the U.S., the CMP offers scholarships to youth of color who then train people south of the border in camera techniques. CMP also sends American delegations to Chiapas to help them understand the region. Delegations start in the colonial capitol of San Cristobal de las Casas and travel throughout autonomous regions focusing on media and organizers, Wallach says.

— BENNETT BAUMER

# TOLLBOOBS ON THE INFORMATION SUPERHIGHWAY

**CABLE COMPANIES ARE PREPARING TO TAKE CONTROL OF THE INTERNET**

BY JEFF CHESTER

The Internet's promise as a new medium — where text, audio, video and data can be freely exchanged — is under attack. The corporations that control the public's access to the Net want to monitor and charge for the content people seek and send.

The industry's vision is the online equivalent of seizing the taxpayer-owned airways, as radio and television conglomerates did during the 20th century.

To achieve this, the cable industry, which sells Internet access to most Americans, is pursuing multiple strategies to monitor and control subscribers and their use of the Net.

New technologies are being developed that can transform today's open Internet into a regulated system that prevents or discourages people from using the net for file sharing, Internet radio and video, and peer-to-peer communications.

The bottom line is the industry wants to kill the Internet as we know it. Take a minute and wade through this bit of arcana — and ponder its implications.

"The IP Service Control System from Ellacoya Networks gives the Broadband Operator 'Total Service Control' to closely monitor and tightly control its subscribers, network and offerings." So reads the web site of Ellacoya.com, describing the business-to-business service that it is selling to large Internet service providers.

Ellacoya is backed by Wall Street investment powerhouse, Goldman Sachs, which sees a major opportunity to turn around the red ink-plagued broadband sector. Continuing, the website explains, "Talkative applications, especially peer-to-peer programs like KaZaA and Morpheus, tend to fill all of the available bandwidth... The IP Service Control System allows operators to identify, limit and report on these aggressive applications."

The fundamental character of the Internet today is that it lacks precisely these kinds of tolls, barriers and gatekeepers. Most people now pay a flat fee for online access. But the big media companies offering Internet service — Comcast, ATT, AOL — would like to change that, and already have in a few test locations. The central feature of these proposals is much like telephone companies; there's a price plan for everyone.

To bolster their argument, cable operators have begun a PR effort, spinning that a small percent of users account for a disproportionately large amount of bandwidth used on broadband networks. They've created the pejorative term, "bandwidth hog," to describe those — such as music-obsessed college students — who find robust uses for high-speed connections.

To deal with this "problem," the companies are considering a variety of approaches to ensure they remain in full control of their bandwidth. Under a typical plan, a user would be allotted a limited amount of bandwidth per month, and would be charged extra fees for going over this amount.

Bandwidth caps have already been implemented in Canada by Internet service

provider Sympatico, Inc. Observers note that the limit — 5 gigabytes per month — would effectively restrict regular use of emerging applications such as Internet radio, streaming media and video-on-demand.

Yet cable systems are constructed to avoid bandwidth shortages. Mike LaJoie, vice president for advanced technology at AOL-Time Warner told *MultiChannel News*, "The way that the HFC [hybrid fiber coaxial] architecture works, we never run out of bandwidth," LaJoie said. "We can always split or do other things that will give us the bandwidth that we want."

In the U.S., the largest telecommunications firms are often part of the same mega-corporation with music, video or movie-producing entertainment divisions — such as AOL-Time Warner. An industry-regulated Internet would hardly end worries about Napster-like file swapping of movies or music by people who don't want to pay industry-monopolized retail prices for content.

Thus, the strategic and technically feasible solutions embodied by companies such as Ellacoya are obviously why Goldman-Sachs was keen to invest in the firm — as it offers the actual means to monetize the net and turn around the revenue-poor broadband sector.

According to Ellacoya's technical datasheet, operators can create "up to 51,000 unique policies that can be combined to generate limitless numbers of subscriber policies." Ellacoya's technology also poses new concerns over privacy, since it "collects usage statistics for subscribers and applications, capturing service events, session details, and by

counts... Operators can 'stamp' the subscriber's identity on all records."

Of course, these calculations are utterly self-serving. The Net was developed with tax dollars and has been an incubator for an array of innovations that extend far beyond creating new profit centers for big media companies. The envisioned control structures will inhibit robust Internet use by early broadband adopters, and discourage development of new high-speed applications such as Internet-based telephone and video-on-demand, thus slowing overall broadband growth.

Worse, this business model will erect high economic and technical barriers to civic discourse, artistic expression and non-profit communications. The cable industry does not simply ignore the democratic and competitive history of the Internet — it is actively hostile to it.

This new threat is a direct consequence of recent Federal Communications Commission policies by Chairman Michael Powell that permit cable companies to operate their broadband platforms in a "discriminatory, non-open access" manner. This legalizes means the FCC has abdicated its founding charge: to serve the public interest before private interests.

If the communications companies impose tolls, roadblocks and dead ends on the information "superhighway," they will be robbing public trust resources in much the same way 19th century mining companies pilfered public lands and 20th century radio and television networks privatized the public's airwaves.

*Jeff Chester is executive director of the Center for Digital Democracy.*

## GI Joe goes digital

BY SARAH STUDEVILLE

You experience the nervous breath of a soldier as he jostles the sight on his sniper rifle. He tenses as an anonymous figure darts across the road — a button pushed, a trigger pulled, and the shadow crumples in the dusk.

You are playing *America's Army*, a video game designed and created by the United States military to help with recruitment. With 24 million plays since its June debut, *America's Army* is introducing a new generation of children to the adventure of a camouflage lifestyle where honor is earned guilt-free by racking up virtual "kills" and slaying America's enemies.

The game's high-tech graphics and realistic soundtrack — including the whir of chopper propellers and radioed instructions — have made *America's Army* one of this year's most popular computer games. In this "T for Teen"-rated video game, players experience a virtual boot camp, venture out on reconnaissance missions in Afghanistan's Tora Bora caves and

hone their skills in sniper training.

Just coincidentally, young players can also access the Army's official recruitment website through a button on the screen, which urges them to "... earn the right to call yourself a soldier..."

The U.S. Army isn't the only one to cash in on making entertainment out of the new world order. Electronic Arts' *Delta Force* is another case of turning yesterday's news into today's entertainment. It offers an array of simulated missions ranging from "Task Force Dagger: Afghanistan" to "Urban Warfare: Fight Terrorism at Home" and "Black Hawk Down: Mission Somalia."

Like *America's Army*, the weapons are realistic and the targets are usually Arab, with familiar rhetoric such as, "Join the Fight for World Justice," "Defeat the Global Threat," and "Terrorists behind every door."

Interestingly, the American perspective is not the only one offered in political video games. A Syrian publishing house, Dar al-Fikr, has designed a video game on the Palestinian uprising called



**In *America's Army*, you can hone your sniping skills, sneak about Tora Bora, or join the real U.S. Army.**

*UnderAsh*. Set in current-day Israel the protagonist of *UnderAsh* is not a heavily armed soldier with full artillery available, but a 19-year-old named Ahmad.

The website includes Ahmad's story, that of a hero "born during the Israeli invasion of South Lebanon... he belongs to Jerusalem." He is devoted to the Palestinian resistance. In the scenes available Ahmad is depicted throwing stones and firing

machine guns at Israeli tanks, as well as praying at the Dome of the Rock mosque in Jerusalem and being imprisoned in an Israeli jail.

*UnderAsh* has received a flurry of attention and elicited controversy. Some have hailed it to be what it claims on the game's website — "A call to justice," and "a new form of history book ... letting others understand what's happening in Palestine." Others, such as

*Middle East Realities*, have denounced it as "disgusting propaganda."

Whether political elements are co-opting popular culture media to disseminate their views and market their interest, or popular culture is using its own tools to express and examine the growing unrest in the world, video games are transforming the violence of current international conflicts into another form of entertainment.

"We were not born in golden cradles."

## FIRST PERSON

# Ecuador confronts FTAA

BY PORTLAND IMC

Tonight I watched some of the most oppressed people in this world confront some of the most influential. I watched a group of poor farmers, indigenous people and workers speak, shout, and sing the truth to power.

When the day started, I was 20 km south of Quito with maybe 300 *indigenas*, one of two protest caravans that had crossed the country spreading the word about the protest against the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) summit in Quito.

Soon after we got off the buses and began a 15 km trek to Quito, the number of people seemed to mysteriously increase, as buses from the South caught up with us and unloaded fresh groups of protesters.

The procession was a riot of color, filled with red and blue ponchos and hundreds of rainbow flags (the symbol of the Andean indigenous and *campesino* movements). People lined the streets to watch. One shopkeeper said to me that the indigenous people were like burros, dragging along the rest of the country, who were also opposed to the FTAA because it would devastate the Ecuadorian economy, but who let the indigenous movement carry the torch.

When we finally reached our destination in Quito, we rounded the corner and found not 80 but between 2,000 and 6,000 people waiting.

Our group didn't even pause, but continued straight toward the Marriott Hotel, where the 34 trade ministers from North and South America were arriving to negotiate a treaty that promises to wipe out small farmers, to hand corporations a sweeping new set of tools to evade environmental, consumer and labor laws. The treaty would force the privatization of water, health care, and education. We were joined by large groups of *campesinos*, students, trade unionists and international activists who had already been fighting battles with the police.

The march was led by a line of *campesino* and indigenous leaders (*dirigentes*), walking arm-in-arm, preceded by a Shaman conducting rites to improve the success of our efforts. Soon we were stopped by several hundred riot police.

More groups drifted in from the sides, and soon la Avenida Colon, one of Quito's widest streets, was packed for ten blocks. There must have been between 8,000 and 15,000 people.

As they approached the Avenida Amazonas, the police fired tear gas. They shot at and over crowd, so that as people ran away, they ran into more gas.

I walked until I couldn't see or breathe, then began to run, then someone grabbed my hand and led me away.

People retreated to regroup, and I found my way to the communications center to try to get the word out about the success of the mobilization — and its repression.

Later on, in an auditorium at the Suissehotel, 25 or so ministers were on the stage. Peter Rossett of Food First stood up, his arm in a rainbow colored sling thanks to a protest injury. Rossett yelled to



**Caravans of factory workers, farmers, students, and the unemployed converged on Quito, Ecuador on Oct. 31 to protest the Free Trade Area of the Americas (Spanish acronym ALCA), which they say will destroy what livelihood they have left. The caravans were greeted by communities along the way, including people of the small town of Providencia (below) ready with the traditional grain drink, chicha.** PHOTO: ECUADOR IMC

Bob Zoellick, the U.S. Trade Representative, that he should be ashamed for pushing an agreement that would impoverish Latin Americans, not to mention many U.S. citizens. Zoellick stared fixedly at his shoe.

The civil society presentations began. A line of people fanned out in front of the ministers (and TV cameras) holding signs that said "Sí a la vida, No al ALCA" (Yes to life, No to the FTAA).

The first speakers were representatives of an international meeting of parliament and congress members. They condemned the FTAA process, and called for an alternative integration, one that respects the needs and particular situations of the people of each country.

Finally, the social movement representatives spoke. Leonidas Iza, the President of CONAIE (the Ecuadorian indigenous federation), stated the social movements' rejection of the FTAA and of neoliberalism in general. "We are in desperate shape," he told the ministers. "You couldn't possibly understand, you who were born in golden cradles and have never suffered."

"We don't have food to feed our children. Our markets are flooded with cheap imports. Imported milk is dumped in Ecuador for half of what it costs to produce it, but transnationals (mostly Nestlé) sell it back to us at \$1.80 per liter. We have no way to live, and the FTAA will only make it worse. When we complain, the U.S. government calls us terrorists. We are not threatening anything,

but we are hungry and tired and things have to change."

There were cheers. The meeting ended, and the moderator hurriedly announced that the ministers were leaving and could we please sit down so they could leave. "NO!" screamed the civil society folks, and pushed out the door, leaving the ministers sitting on stage.

At that moment, I felt something shift. I realized that (unless the media bury this entirely) the FTAA has in 24 hours gone from something whose praises its proponents sing, to something they have to defend.

Like the World Trade Organization before it, the FTAA has become the treaty that has to be sold to a continent that doesn't want it.



## One in three Brits say Bush is scarier than Saddam

George W. Bush is seen by a third of Britons as a bigger threat to world safety than Saddam Hussein, according to a recent poll conducted by senior Republican strategist Frank Luntz. In a straight choice between the two leaders as to who poses the greater threat to world peace, 32% said Bush and 49% said Hussein. Almost two-thirds of the 3,200 people interviewed said the only reason the U.S. has targeted Hussein is because he threatens U.S. control of the Middle East. Only a quarter feel it is because the Iraqi leader is a threat to world peace.

"I would suggest that [Blair] ring up the broadcast media and say, 'Keep President Bush, keep Dick Cheney, keep all Americans with these American accents off television', because it's not helping his case," Luntz told the U.K. *Guardian*.

## Apartheid victims sue for reparations

Victims of apartheid filed a class action lawsuit Nov. 12 in a New York district court charging 20 major banks and corporations, including JP Morgan, Citigroup and General Motors, with aiding and abetting South Africa's former rulers.

The plaintiffs allege that the corporations provided funds to the police and armed forces and violated international embargoes against South Africa. They may ask for billions of dollars in damages.

The case was filed in the name of the Khulumani Support Group, engaged in counseling more than 32,000 South Africans hurt by apartheid, a system of race-based control that allowed whites to repress the country's non-white majority from 1948-1994. According to accounts by plaintiffs and family members, extra-judicial killings, torture and arbitrary detention — recognized as violations of international law — were regularly practiced by the apartheid regime between 1948 and 1993.

## Disappearing plants

Almost half the world's plants could become extinct this century, according to a new study published Nov. 1 in *The Journal of Science*.

Nigel Pitman of Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, and Peter Jorgensen, of the Missouri Botanical Garden in St. Louis, calculate between 22 to 47 percent of species should be on the Red List of the world's threatened plants. The previous figure of 13 percent was based largely on what is known about threatened species in the temperate regions of the world — such as Europe and North America — but it is in the tropics where plant diversity is at its richest and most vulnerable, they say.

There are thought to be from 310,000 to 422,000 species of plants in the world but fewer than one in 20 had been formally assessed for their conservation status, Peter Crane of the Royal Botanic Gardens told the U.K. *Independent*.

## One Day Only! Consumers attempt to buy nothing

People around the world will kick off the Christmas shopping season Nov. 29 by buying nothing.

"Buy Nothing Day" was launched 11 years ago by the Vancouver-based magazine *Adbusters* and has become a global day of protest that celebrates opposition to consumerism. In previous years, participants have sparked by engaging in swap meets, teach-ins, concerts, street theater, credit card cut-ups, posterizing and potlucks. Other milder forms of protest have included making pacts with family and friends to abstain from buying gifts for one another in exchange for spending quality time together.

# UNITED NATIONS (1945-2002)

BY DONAND PANETH

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—Peace is too abstract a concept to be achievable.

But war, the application of power, air bombardment, the massing of troops, assault and occupation, the corruption of purpose and principle, is sufficiently concrete to be carried out globally.

History, the long centuries of war and peace, is ignored.

Fascism is presented rationally — and rationalized legislatively, judicially.

The practitioners of national politics and international diplomacy manipulate and control the rule of force. The general population is propagandized and robotized out of its mind.

And the U.N., the world body founded at the end of World War II "to maintain international peace and security," — what is one to say of it?

It is a failure, a washout, a catastrophe.

With the U.N. Security Council's 15-0 adoption on Nov. 8 of a United States-United Kingdom resolution on Iraq and weapons of mass destruction, the U.N. eclipsed itself as a world body. It became an organization representing North America, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, overlapping in large part with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

It endorsed war as policy. It abandoned its purposes as set out in the U.N. Charter "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war ... to establish conditions under which justice and respect for ... treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained ... to promote social progress and better standards of living..."

The U.S. has more weapons of mass destruction than any other nation on earth, and has declared its readiness to use them (even against nations which don't possess them), and deploy them in violation of treaties to which it is a party.

The U.N. has not challenged U.S. possession of weapons of mass destruction. Nor has any nation challenged British, French or Israeli possession of weapons of mass destruction.

But the U.N. voted to prepare the way for a possible U.S. attack on Iraq, returning U.N. weapons inspectors to Iraq under a stringent protocol with a strict timetable.

Iraq is a small, recalcitrant Middle East country with huge oil supplies and reserves. Will an attack on its "territorial integrity or political independence," ostensibly prohibited under article 2 of the U.N. Charter, be forthcoming?

Peace protesters and anti-corporate globalization demonstrators at rallies across the U.S. and Europe fear that it is likely.

Meanwhile, George W. Bush publicizes his administration's war plans, the movement of troops, material and aircraft carriers to the region.

No American figure of authority speaks out against those preparations. No government official resigns in protest. American institutions, except for a small segment of the press, are complicit.

U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan himself goes along with the U.S., dutifully travelling between U.N. headquarters and the White House to receive his instructions. So does Hans Blix, chief U.N. weapons inspector.

In a statement following adoption of the Security Council resolution, Annan said:

"This resolution is based on law, collective effort, and the unique legitimacy of the United Nations. It represents an example of multilateral diplomacy serving the cause of peace and security."

It is a replay and an extension of the history of the 1930's when the theme was not peace but a sword, and the League of Nations collapsed. China, Spain, Ethiopia, and Czechoslovakia were the undefended victims of the failures of the League and the West.

Today, the U.S., U.K., and France take up the roles formerly played by Germany, Italy, and Japan — militaristic, imperialistic and threatening.

The U.N. was a good idea. But it was set up for failure from the start. The Security Council veto, held by its five permanent members, hampered its functioning. The violent rivalry between the West and the Soviet Union knocked it off course.



By a vote of 15-0, the United Nations Security Council approved Nov. 8 a strongly-worded resolution that could allow the United States to launch a unilateral war against Iraq. U.N./DPI PHOTO BY MARK GARTEN

Most particularly, and not generally recognized, the structures of peace articulated in the U.N. Charter were never brought into existence. Article 43 provides that "All members of the United Nations ... undertake to make available to the Security Council ... armed forces, assistance, and facilities ... for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security."

Those forces, which would have permitted the U.N. to act independently, were never made available.

Article 46 stipulates: "Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the ... Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee." The

Committee, consisting of high-ranking officers from each of the Council's members, was established, but has never become operational. While it does meet once a week, it usually convenes and within a few minutes, adjourns. It does nothing.

An ad hoc arrangement came into being in 1956 with the first of many U.N. peacekeeping missions to which nations contributed military units. Over the years the success of peacekeeping missions has varied.

With the U.N. now subdued and subservient, the people of the world face a fundamental crisis.

## WORLD HUNGER: 47 MILLION & GROWING

BY LUTFUL SANJU

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—Food emergencies are endangering the lives of 47 million people in several parts of the world, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and World Food Program (WFP) have announced.

In the Horn of Africa, 12 million people are threatened with starvation over the next several months. In Ethiopia, drought has caused a widespread loss of maize and sorghum crops, the staple foods for most of Ethiopia's rural population. Malnutrition rates have reached alarming levels.

Eritrea faces a similar situation, with drought causing an almost complete loss of the country's cereal harvest.

Drought is the primary cause of hunger in southern Africa, where an estimated 14.4 million people are in danger of starvation, WFP said. People in six countries — Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe — require food assistance. Malnutrition is very high in the region and life expectancy is low. Life expectancy in the region ranges between 39 (for males in Mozambique) and 48 (for females in Lesotho).

In Central America, a "drought corridor" has affected 8.6 million people. The drought corridor is an area that exposes the rural areas of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador to recurring natural disasters. These recurring droughts, and other natural disasters, leave poor families with no crops to feed them-

selves," said Zoraida Mesa, regional director of the WFP. "After years of natural disasters in Central America, many of these families have nothing left to sell, nothing left to cultivate, and nothing left to eat. Many are going hungry."

In Afghanistan, 7.5 million people continue to be dependent on humanitarian aid for survival. National authorities, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are attempting to rebuild the country, where millions have been unable to raise crops due to conflict and drought. "The task facing us after decades of war and desolation is immense," an FAO expert said.

North Korea continues to experience food shortages. Inadequate funding of WFP programs has led to the suspension of food aid to 3 million women, children and elderly persons. An additional 1.5 million people will be cut off from assistance unless new pledges to the WFP are made by January.

Progress in reducing world hunger has almost come to a halt, the FAO said in its annual report on world hunger. The report said that as a result of the lack of progress, hunger is killing millions of people, including six million children under the age of five each year.

According to FAO's figures for 1998-2000, 840 million people are undernourished, 799 million in developing countries. The report also found that more than 2 billion other people suffer from micronutrient malnutrition, where they lack the necessary nutrients the body needs. Most of the chronic hunger results from poverty.

# "WE ONLY HAVE THE CHOICE TO DIE."

## GAZA RESIDENTS BRACE FOR MORE TERROR

BY KRISTIN ESS

GAZA STRIP, Nov. 14 — Today in Rafah an elderly woman sits in a chair in a narrow dirt alleyway, the same spot she sat in yesterday when she still had a house, uninhabitable though it was from the stench of flooding sewage. In one day, her eyes have gone from bright to dull. She is now both stateless and homeless.

Israeli tanks ripped through her house yesterday, along with those of over 100 Palestinians. The woman next door holds my hands, kissing my cheeks. She is imploring me to do something to save her damaged home, to stop the Israeli soldiers from shooting at her, to stop the sewage from seeping through the creases in her cement block house.

As we wade through the floor, she is crying as she leads me through the broken glass. She points to the tanks and bulldozers just outside her window, and holds her hands up to the sky. The streets are full of flies. The 8-meter-high security wall Israel is building out of dirty reddened steel is getting longer everyday.

Israeli soldiers targeted a 2-year-old boy yesterday. Even they could not come up with an excuse for shooting him in the head.

excuse for shooting him in the head. At his funeral today, Fatah Youth flags flew in the breeze, the baby's body covered in purple-pink flowers. He was carried on a stretcher along side another small boy, nine years old, who died from 2-day-old injuries.

In Gaza City, Israeli Apache helicopters are shooting missiles at the same building they already destroyed two nights

house. The house had already been partially bulldozed days before, but there was nowhere else for the family to go.

An Israeli tank passed by, firing inside. The mother and father grabbed their children and began to run. The father, carrying two of the children, escaped. The mother holding her 3-year-old son, but was injured as she tried to run away

from the Israeli tank fire. She was taken to the hospital. The father found their three-year-old son with a 50mm shell in his chest. A friend who has two young children and another on the way phones me

and says, "This is a small body, a 3-year-old's body. This bullet is big; it's for walls, or to fight tank to tank, not for children."

I ask him, "What can anyone do to defend themselves, to resist?" He tells me, "We have the choice to die. This is the reality. We can't escape from this."

Later, I'm watching satellite news. A hundred tanks are plowing through Nablus, a West Bank city still under curfew. On Al Jazeera, I see a boy in a t-shirt and jeans running behind one of the tanks, trying to insert a Palestinian flag.



Woman holds up bullet to show that U.S. bullets and tanks are used to kill her grandchildren. "What have the children done to the Americans to have them killed?" she asked



PHOTOS BY JERUSALEM INDYMEDIA

# SELLING KETCHUP, SELLING WAR

*continued from cover*

a-half months, Heinz reports it sold 2.5 million bottles of the purple ketchup.

Selling a war is obviously different than selling a kid-oriented food product. But like Heinz, war marketers use focus groups and survey research to develop their message and identify their target audience. They also supplement their press releases, follow-up phone calls and video footage with willing third-party advocates ready to deliver their spin.

Front groups, witnesses and experts all can act as seemingly independent advocates. In the case of Iraq, the State Department is providing media training to Iraqi dissidents to "help make the Bush administration's argument for the removal of Saddam Hussein," *PR Week* reports.

The public relations effort is being taken up by a group with close ties to the Pentagon and Vice-President Dick Cheney. The Committee for the Liberation of Iraq (CLI) is "an independent entity" that is expected to "work closely with the administration," reports the Nov. 4 *Washington Post*.

The Committee is far from independent, however. Inter Press Service News' Jim Lobe reports, "The Committee appears to be a spin-off of the Project for a New American Century, a front group consisting mainly of neo-conservative Jews and heavy-hitters from the Christian Right." Lobe also notes that the Committee's chair, Bruce P. Jackson, is a vice president at the mammoth weapons maker Lockheed Martin.

Other members include New School President and former U.S. Sen. Bob Kerrey, former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, labor leader James Hoffa Jr., former Secretary of State George Schultz and Senators John McCain and Joseph Lieberman.

The Committee will sponsor "a series of upcoming briefings of foreign policy groups, Iraq specialists and other opinion makers" to build "fresh public support for U.S. policy." The Bush administration's goal is to get their message covered by as many media outlets as possible without debate or dissent.

### News Feeds

Among the major media, there is less and less time for reporters to investigate stories and ever more content to provide to the "all news, all the time" cable networks and internet news sites. Journalists are outnumbered by better-paid PR people, many of whom are former journalists. There is little research on how much "news" originates as press releases. Academics conservatively estimate it is 40 percent, but it is probably much more.

"PR people know how the press thinks," write Jeff and Marie Blyskal in their 1985 book, *PR: How the Public Relations Industry Writes the News*.

"Thus they are able to tailor their publicity so [a] journalist will listen and cover it. As a result much of the news you read in newspapers and magazines or watch on television and hear on the radio is heavily influenced by public relations people. ... Unfortunately 'news' hatched by a PR person and journalist working together looks much like real news dug up by enterprising journalists working independently."

In the nearly two decades since the Blyskal's book, things have only gotten easier for PR people. Press releases, video news releases and "experts" are spoon-fed to overworked journalists by PR firms.

On any night the evening news is almost certainly broadcasting industry-provided footage. It could be a video of children enjoying purple ketchup, a cancer patient receiving a new treatment, or Iraqi dissidents

denouncing Saddam Hussein. Regardless, the footage is used as if it was gathered by station cameramen; its origins are not noted. Public relations has no use for open discourse or democratic decision-making. Public relations, in its invisible way, is about managing opinion — from food-buying decisions to foreign policy actions. Kids get purple ketchup. We all get war.

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Photo by Andrew Hetherington

DECEMBER 2002

THE INDEPENDENT

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# Ni Una Más

# End Violence

Photos and text by Lina Pallotta

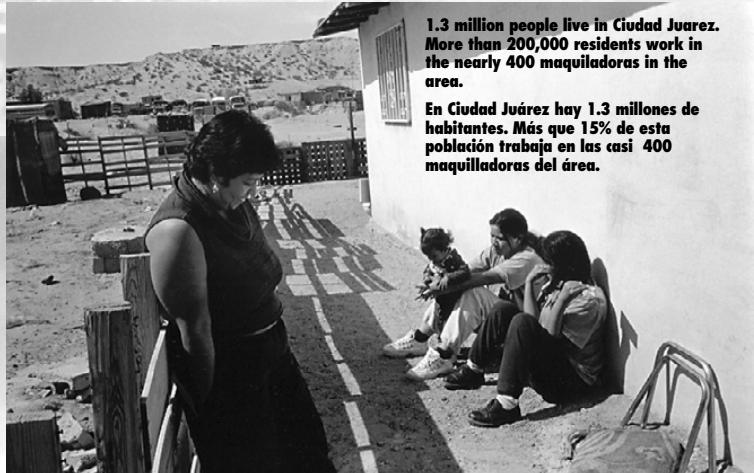
Since January 1993, almost 300 young women have been murdered in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, and more than 500 others are missing and feared dead. From the evidence, most of the victims were kidnapped, raped, tortured and brutally mutilated before being murdered. An unusually high percentage of them worked in the foreign-owned factories, known as maquiladoras, in the ever-expanding shantytowns surrounding the city. Two more bodies were found in October 2002.

Desde enero de 1993 hasta la actualidad, en Ciudad Juárez (Méjico), han sido asesinadas casi 300 mujeres y 500 restan desaparecidas. La mayoría fueron secuestradas y sus cuerpos muestran signos de haber sido violadas, torturadas y brutalmente mutiladas. Un alto porcentaje trabajaban en las maquiladoras (fábricas extranjeras) y vivían en las afueras de la ciudad, en la creciente área de barracas. Dos cuerpos más han aparecido en octubre del 2002.



1.3 million people live in Ciudad Juárez. More than 200,000 residents work in the nearly 400 maquiladoras in the area.

En Ciudad Juárez hay 1.3 millones de habitantes. Más que 15% de esta población trabaja en las casi 400 maquiladoras del área.



In March 2002, a demonstration organized by Ni Una Más demanded justice for the killed and missing women of the state of Chihuahua, where Ciudad Juárez is located. A cross with 268 nails, each representing a victim, was transported through the city and placed at Paseo del Norte, a bridge at the border of the United States and Mexico.

En marzo del 2002, Ni Una Más organizó una demostración para pedir justicia por las mujeres asesinadas y desaparecidas en el estado de Chihuahua. Una cruz con 268 clavos, cada uno en memoria de una mujer, fue transportada a través de la ciudad y colocada en el Paseo del Norte, un puente en la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México.



A woman holds a tag with the name of her missing granddaughter. She waits to hang it on one of the nails surrounding the cross.

Una mujer sostiene una etiqueta con el nombre de su nieta desaparecida. Espera para colgarla en uno de los clavos alrededor de la cruz.

## HOW TO HELP?

- Sign the petition: End Violence Against Women in Juárez. <http://www.PetitionOnline.com/JUAREZ/petition.html>
- To get more information visit <http://www.geocities.com/pornuestrasfrijas/> In this site you can find a sample letter and the address to send it to Human Rights organizations, president Vincent Fox and president George W. Bush.
- Support grass-roots organizations that are working towards resolving these murders:  
"Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa, A.C."  
EU Bank of America account: 004794 215165  
Latin American Federation of Families of the Disappeared ([fedefamorg@cantv.net](mailto:fedefamorg@cantv.net))  
Crisis Center Casa Amiga <http://www.casa-amiga.org>

# Against Women in Juárez



The police have occasionally hauled in suspects, but critics say they are just looking to pin the crime on a scapegoat to make the issue disappear. Meanwhile, the murders have continued unabated. In November 2001, for example, police arrested two men for the murder of five of eight women whose bodies were found in a cotton field. The police produced written confessions, but the two men maintained their statements were extracted under torture. DNA test results made public in October revealed the two men were not responsible for the crime.

Distrustful of the police, citizens of the city have organized their own ongoing searches for bodies of the victims.



Looking for disappeared ones/En busca de restos humanos

Anapra is the poorest area of Ciudad Juárez and home to most of the maquiladora workers. It is also where many of the murdered women's bodies have been found. Anapra es la zona más pobre de Ciudad Juárez y donde se han hallado muchos de los cuerpos de las mujeres desaparecidas. La mayoría de trabajadores de las maquiladoras viven allí.



La policía ha detenido varias personas en distintas ocasiones. Pero los detenidos son sólo chivos expiatorios. Un ejemplo es cuando en noviembre del 2001, se hallaron 8 cuerpos de mujeres en un campo de cotón en la ciudad. La policía identificó los cuerpos y detuvo a dos hombres, a quienes acusó de cinco de los asesinatos y obtuvo sus confesiones por escrito. Después de un año, en octubre del 2002, los resultados de las pruebas de DNA contradicen el informe policial, lo que implica que los dos sospechos dijeron la verdad al acusar a la policía de haberlos torturado para confesar crímenes que no habían cometido.

Debido a la desconfianza generalizada frente a las investigaciones policiales, los ciudadanos de Juárez se organizan ellos mismos para buscar los cuerpos.

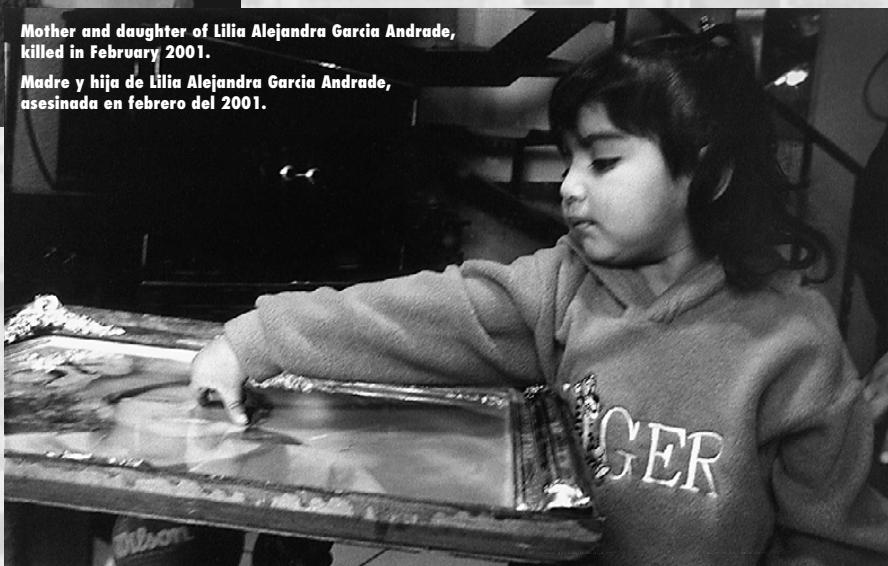


Mother and daughter of Lilia Alejandra García Andrade, killed in February 2001.

Madre y hija de Lilia Alejandra García Andrade, asesinada en febrero del 2001.

## PARA AYUDAR

- Firma la petición: Fin de la violencia contra las mujeres de Juárez. <http://www.PetitionOnline.com/JUAREZ/petition.html>
- Infórmese más en: <http://www.geocities.com/pornuestras hijas/>  
En este sitio encontrará una carta modelo y direcciones para enviarla a organizaciones pro-derechos humanos y a los presidentes Vicent Fox y George Bush.
- Envíe ayuda a organizaciones populares que intentan resolver este problema.  
"Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa, A.C."  
EU Bank of America account: 004794 215165  
Federación de Latinoamérica de Asociaciones de Familias de Detenidos Desaparecidos ([fedefamorg@cantv.net](mailto:fedefamorg@cantv.net))  
Casa Amiga Centro de Crisis  
<http://www.casa-amiga.org>



# EL INDEPENDIENTE



## MEDIOS Y DEMOCRACIA AL ESTILO AMERICANO



MARA MAHÍA

Para entender el incalculable daño que el lucrativo negocio de la comunicación ha hecho a las libertades civiles y a la mal denominada democracia de este país, hace falta primero tener bien claro que hoy en día, más que en ningún otro momento de la historia de la humanidad, información significa poder y luego, tratar de averiguar, en el laberíntico mundo de los 'share holders', quién o quiénes manejan los medios de comunicación de este país.

### EL CARTEL DE LA COMUNICACIÓN

Las mayores cadenas de TV y periódicos de este país son propiedad y/o están controlados por las mayores corporaciones, quienes a su vez a través de lobby's, están intimamente ligadas a la Casa Blanca. Básicamente, la comunicación de este país (y de otros muchos) la manejan seis compañías: Time Warner, Disney, Viacom, Seagram, News Corporation y Sony se reparten el pastel de la industria de la comunicación.

News Corporation, además de cientos de emisoras de radio y diarios, controla FOX News y el New York Post (éste último, dicho sea de paso, ha publicado durante los últimos meses suficientes "buenas noticias" para, casi sin necesidad de publicidad electoral, catapultar la campaña del reelegido gobernador republicano de NY, señor Pataki).

Viacom (además de casas discográficas) maneja el sabroso negocio de publicidad-consumo para adolescentes que supone MTV. Time Warner y AOL controlan entre otros medios, CNN (vampiro instigador de la lucratísima Guerra del Golfo). Disney es dueño y señor de ABC y Miramax. Mientras que otras "pequeñas corporaciones", como General Electric, organiza el despacho de noticias de NBC.

Los tentáculos de estas corporaciones abarcan editoriales, compañías de dibujos animados, parques de entretenimiento, video clubs, revistas, estudios de Hollywood, obras de Broadway e incluso equipos de baloncesto, hockey, etc... Según críticos como Robert McChesney, en los estándares de la "nueva ética profesional" habría que añadir un undécimo mandamiento: No cubrirás noticias polémicas sobre corporaciones y/o bi-lionarios.

### CLUB MEDIA PARA RICOS

El 17% de la lista de Forbes de las 400 personas más ricas de US, obtienen sus ganancias de los medios de comunicación. Se trata de una mafia que controla la información de este país con ganancias anuales equiparables a las del producto interior bruto de pequeños países. El periodismo independiente, crítico y de investigación ha prácticamente desaparecido de las portadas y las pantallas de este país.

Las leyes antimonopolio que en su día se le aplicaron a Microsoft parecen diluirse en buenas intenciones cuando se habla de los mass media. La FCC (Federal Communication Commission) que en teoría tendría que ocuparse de regular las leyes antimonopolio, sencillamente se encuentra en un callejón sin salida, cuando a cada pasito que da se haya a merced de las aprobaciones del Congreso y el Senado, cámaras que a su vez están interesadas en mantener ese férreo control de los medios por las corporaciones manejadas por la clase más alta (el 10% de esa población acapara el 76% de la riqueza de este país). Control que les beneficia para mantenerse en el poder, obtenerlo o iniciar guerras o

políticas, que una vez manoseadas hasta la saciedad en la TV y en los diarios, se convierten en hechos consumados.

Resumiendo, cuanto mayor es el poder de los mass media, convertidos en las corporaciones más avariciosas, menor es el poder del ciudadano de a pie y más pobre se hace la mal llamada democracia.

Cuando Lawrence Grossman dejó la presidencia de PBS por la de NBC News, no tenía la menor idea que en la década de los 90, NBC pasaría a ser parte de GE. Una vez que esta corporación se hizo dueña de NBC, las noticias sobre la mala gestión o la caída en bolsa de GE, sencillamente desaparecieron. Más de una vez, Jack Welch, en persona, llamó a Grossman regañándole cuando la imagen de GE no salía bien parada. Algo parecido ocurrió con ABC y Disney (una empresa cuyo nicho en el mercado está basado en el núcleo de la familia convencional), cuando Ellen DeGeneres decidió gritarle al mundo que era gay.

### NOTICIAS PATRÍOTICAS

Dicho lo anterior, no debería ser una sorpresa la ola de autocensura que invadió "América" tras el 11 de septiembre. La autocensura informativa se convirtió en un asunto de patriotismo. Tanto que varias cadenas de televisión adoptaron la bandera americana como otro logo más de la corporación. Durante los meses posteriores a 9/11, ni un sólo medio se atrevió a ofrecer un análisis serio donde se disecasen las causas, que tuvieron como consecuencia el ataque del WTC.

Criticos como Chomsky o Edwar Said sencillamente han desaparecido del espectro informativo de este país. El asunto era bien simple. Cualquier medio que osase divagar sobre algún tema (incluso algo sencillo, como la similitud entre las fechas del golpe de Pinochet y la caída del WTC), que pusiera en la picota la responsabilidad directa que durante siglos este país ha tenido en la miseria de otros países, era tachada de antipatriótico. Algo que no sólo causaría el boicot del americano medio (y de las empresas que con la publicidad patrocinan los medios), sino la pérdida de miles de billones para los mass media.

Con lo cual la información real fue distorsionada hasta la saciedad, convirtiéndose en pura propaganda. (Propaganda que bien utilizada durante más de un año, ha garantizado la popularidad de Bush, el auge del partido republicano y un más que probable bombardeo de Irak.)

Ni un sólo medio se ha ocupado, por ejemplo, de indagar en las relaciones político-económicas del clan Bin Laden y el clan Bush. Ni un sólo medio, tampoco, denunció la denominación de "enemy combatant" que el oráculo Ashcroft se sacó de la manga para designar a los arrestados en Guantánamo. Una vez que fueron detenidos, no como soldados (porque entonces sí tendrían que haber seguido las disposiciones de la Convención de Ginebra), ni tampoco como criminales (ya que entonces habrían tenido derecho a cierta protección legal), sino bajo un nuevo status (inventado para la ocasión) cualquier derecho legal, sencillamente, les ha sido negado.

Otro ejemplo de la ciega autocensura impuesta por las corporaciones, alias Casa Blanca, fueron en su día las noticias del golpe de estado contra Chávez en Venezuela. Ni un sólo medio hizo un análisis exhaustivo de lo que fue un golpe diseñado y apoyado por Washington. Lo que nos resta averiguar es qué porcentaje de los ejecutivos que personalmente controlan estos medios, son musulmanes, católicos y judíos.

## VENEZUELA: MEDIOS GOLPISTAS

Tras el fracaso del golpe de estado en Venezuela, el golpista vicealmirante Víctor Ramírez Pérez declaró haber contado con un arma fundamental: los medios informativos. Según un artículo de Xavier Castaño Tamayo, durante el golpe de estado contra Chávez, los medios de comunicación jugaron un rol fundamental, mintiendo, acusando sin pruebas, calumniando y distorsionando.

Los cinco canales privados de televisión y nueve o diez grandes diarios de la Coordinadora Democrática, se dedicaron con entusiasmo a desinformar. Un ejemplo de la manipulación es haberle atribuido a Ignacio Ramonet (director de Le Monde Diplomatique), unas declaraciones en las que se denigraba a Hugo Chávez. Declaraciones que Ramonet desmintió en cuanto pudo.

Pero continuaron con su propaganda surrealista hasta el punto de publicar que Chávez había alcanzado un acuerdo con Hezbollah (el grupo guerrillero integrista proiraní) para que estableciera una base de operaciones de Irán en Venezuela.

Una vez desinformado el país, continúa el artículo de Xavier Castaño, el siguiente paso fue la ingobernabilidad. Para ello se contó con la inestimable ayuda de funcionarios de diferentes niveles y sectores del gobierno que boicotearon programas, sabotearon proyectos, paralizaron transferencias de fondos a municipios y frenaron toda acción gubernamental.

Para aderezar la mezcla y aducir terribles desórdenes públicos, hicieron falta algunos muertos, que fueron "facilitados" por unos miserables francotiradores apostados en tejados próximos al lugar por donde discurría una manifestación opositora a los que se acusó de ser partidarios de Chávez.

Periodistas europeos, como Maurice Lemoine, enviado especial a Venezuela, demostraron con imágenes que todo había sido un montaje de los golpistas.

# UN BRASIL MÁS JUSTO ES POSIBLE

SILVIA ARANA

Durante el apogeo del modelo neoliberal en América Latina, en los ochenta y noventa, los candidatos presidenciales enmarcaban sus programas económicos en el contexto de la globalización y siguiendo al pie de la letra los lineamientos del FMI y del Banco Mundial. Con el fracaso estrepitoso del modelo neoliberal en América Latina, los votos se han desplazado hacia candidatos considerados, hasta hace sólo pocos años, "no presidenciables" por sus proyectos enfocados en la justicia social y la defensa de los derechos de los pobres, de los sin tierra, de los indígenas, de los desposeídos.

Entre estas figuras, otrora sin posibilidades, hoy con tremendo apoyo popular, se destaca Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, el primer obrero presidente de Brasil. Lula tiene una larga historia como líder metalúrgico y como dirigente del Partido de los Trabajadores (PT), una coalición de grupos del movimiento obrero, y de sectores de izquierda y del cristianismo progresista.

En sus primeras declaraciones como presidente electo dijo "los mercados financieros debían entender que todos los brasileños tienen que comer", y agregó que esa iba a ser una de las prioridades de su gobierno. Además, en tono de advertencia, dijo que en las tratativas de comercio internacional era fundamental que las naciones ricas eliminaran las barreras proteccionistas y las subvenciones a los productores locales de esos países porque esas medidas están destruyendo las exportaciones brasileñas.

Brasil es el país más extenso, más poblado y económicamente más importante de América Latina. Es además la economía número once del mundo, y la cuarta nación con la distribución más injusta de la riqueza. Con más de 170 millones de habitantes, casi un tercio (54 millones) vive en la pobreza. El 10 por ciento de los más ricos recibe el 48 por ciento del ingreso total del país.

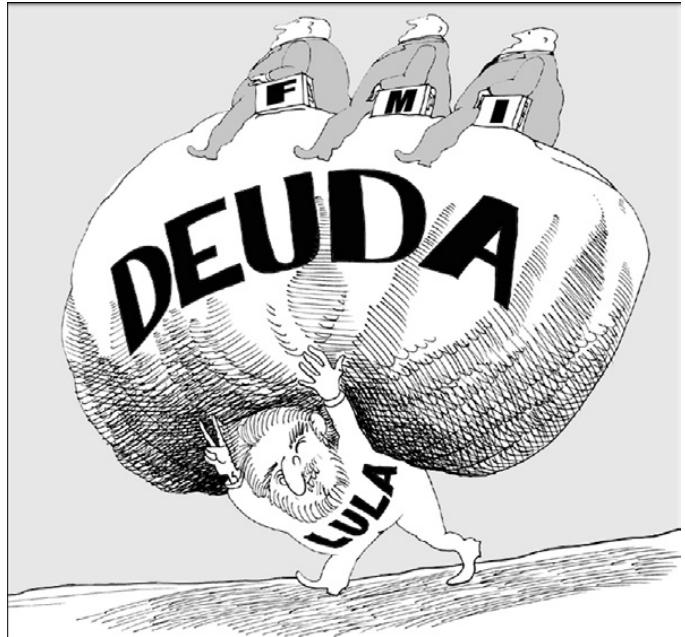
El crecimiento desigual de las regiones es marcado: el ingreso per cápita en la región industrializada de São Paulo es diez veces superior al de la región del Nordeste. Por otra parte, los índices de violencia social le han valido a Brasil el dudoso honor de primeros en el mundo: entre 1987 y 2000, solo en Río de Janeiro han muerto más jóvenes menores de 18 años por disparos de armas de fuego que en todos los conflictos combinados de Colombia, Yugoslavia, Sierra Leone, Afganistán, Israel y Palestina. (*El País*, septiembre 11, 2001.)

Brasil tiene una deuda externa de 250 mil millones de dólares. Este año Brasil debe pagar treinta y dos mil millones de dólares de vencimientos y está al día con las cuotas. En los próximos cuatro años, Brasil deberá

pagar sumas igualmente exorbitantes. Esto es lo que los organismos financieros y la banca mundial esperan y exigirán de Brasil.

Para concretar el plan que lo llevó a la presidencia, "Cero Hambre", Lula deberá enfrentarse a los mercados financieros, ya que las reivindicaciones y los cambios exigidos por el movimiento social y los desposeídos del país no podrán realizarse en el contexto actual del modelo neoliberal impuesto por el FMI.

Para poder enfrentarse desde una posición de poder real a los organismos financieros internacionales, Brasil debe revitalizar la integración económica regional con Argentina, Uruguay y demás países del MERCOSUR y de la Comunidad Andina. Además, es fundamental la



ALFREDO GARZÓN

cooperación económica regional con los gobiernos de Venezuela, Cuba y otros gobiernos que defienden la soberanía nacional de sus países y se oponen al Plan ALCA impulsado desde Estados Unidos para destruir las economías regionales subordinándolas bajo su control.

A esas alianzas internacionales, con las fuerzas que se oponen a la globalización y al modelo neoliberal, a nivel nacional habrá que acompañarlas con el fortalecimiento de la coalición de fuerzas progresistas, desde el Movimiento Sin Tierra [ver recuadro] y su propuesta de reforma agraria hasta los sectores medios que reclaman un plan nacional de seguridad social.

Si el PT y Lula logran consolidar esas alianzas y movilizar al pueblo tras un plan de cambio social, conseguirán en el corto plazo, la moratoria de la deuda externa o, al menos, una renegociación más ventajosa. Estas son las condiciones indispensables para iniciar un proceso de independencia económica y justicia social.

Como dice Frei Betto, el legendario filósofo de la teología de la liberación, autor y periodista brasileño:

"Los brasileños eligieron a Lula presidente de la República. Su gobierno no nos dará un paraíso, pero si nos juntamos en una gran unión nacional al menos podremos quedar libres del infierno del hambre, del desempleo y del analfabetismo."

## LOS SIN TIERRA DEMANDAN REFORMA AGRARIA

*Carta del Movimiento de Trabajadores Rurales Sin Tierra de Brasil (MST) al presidente Lula y al pueblo brasileño para hablar de la situación del país y de la lucha por la Reforma Agraria, con la esperanza de una vida más digna y justa para todos los brasileños.*

• Brasil sufrió durante ocho años un modelo económico neoliberal implementado por el gobierno de Cardoso que aumentó el sufrimiento del pueblo y agudizó la pobreza, la desigualdad, el éxodo y la falta de trabajo para los trabajadores rurales.

• El pueblo brasileño le dijo no a ese modelo económico y votó masivamente por Lula. Es una victoria del pueblo y una derrota de las élites y su proyecto.

• El MST combatió este modelo y por ello sufrió persecuciones y ataques. Pagamos un alto precio con masacres, detenciones, mentiras sistemáticas.

• El latifundio y el modelo neoliberal son la causa del hambre, del desempleo, de la pobreza, del analfabetismo y de la falta de desarrollo del medio rural. Creemos que el gobierno de Lula va a desempeñar un papel fundamental para democratizar la propiedad de la tierra en Brasil.

• Precisamos construir un nuevo modelo agrícola, que le de prioridad al mercado interno, a la producción de alimentos y a la distribución de la riqueza. Para ello el estado debe apoyar la agricultura familiar, las cooperativas agrícolas y la descentralización de las industrias del agro.

• Hay que garantizar la educación pública para la población rural, como un derecho inalienable al progreso y a la dignidad de las personas.

• Nuestro papel como movimiento social es continuar con la organización de los campesinos, su concientización y su movilización en la lucha por cambiar el sistema. Mantendremos nuestra autonomía con relación al estado pero contribuiremos en todo lo posible para que el gobierno realice nuestra soñada reforma agraria.

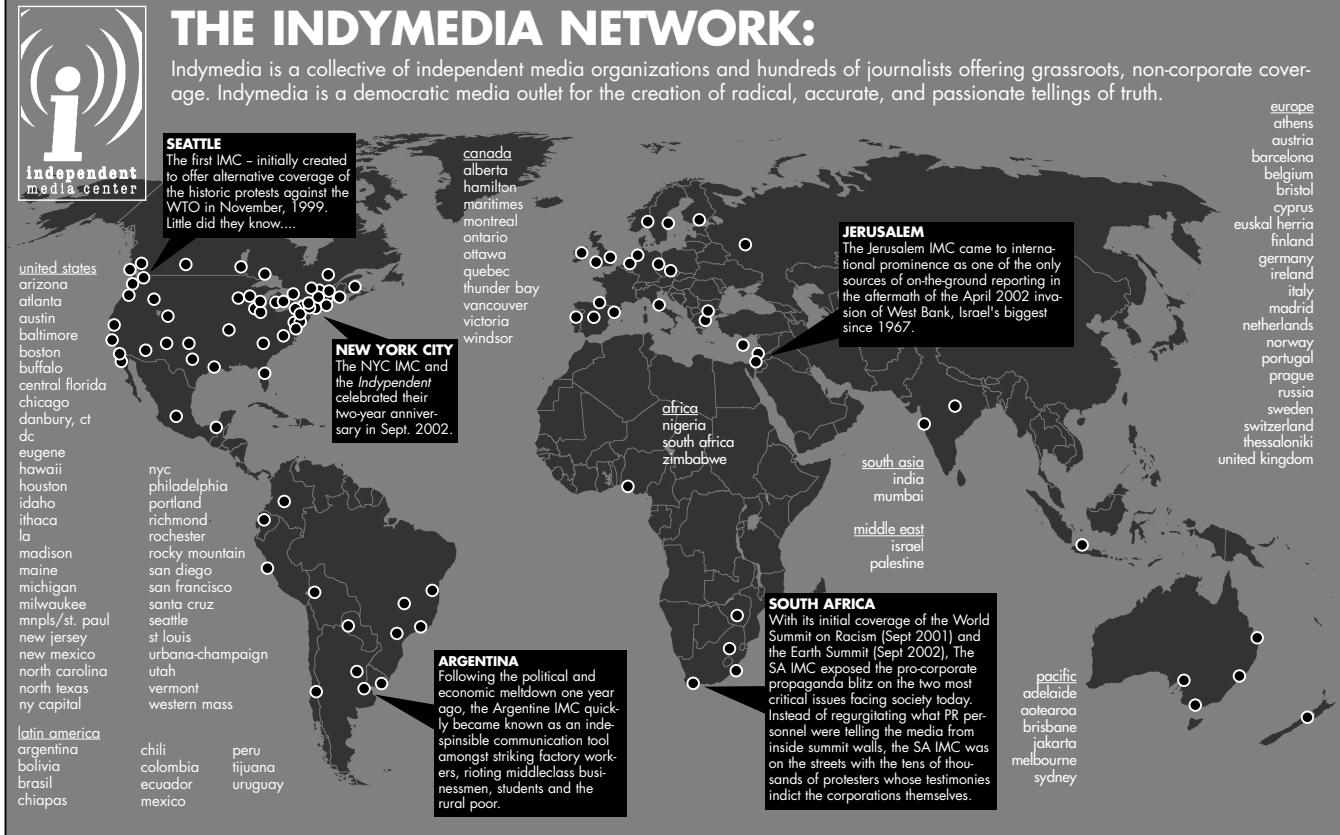
• Tenemos la oportunidad de realizar una tarea histórica: implementar una verdadera reforma agraria, que democratice la propiedad de la tierra y que elimine el hambre, el desempleo y las injusticias sociales.

• Llamamos a todos los trabajadores y la sociedad brasileña a organizarse y a movilizarse para ayudarnos a hacer la reforma agraria. Un Brasil más justo es posible.

Y la hora ha llegado.

Coordinación Nacional del MST  
Caruaru, Agreste Pernambucano  
noviembre, 2002

Traducido del portugués  
por la autora del artículo.



## Who owns the news in New York?

### Dow Jones & Co.

**LOCAL HOLDINGS:** *Wall Street Journal*  
**JOURNAL CIRCULATION:** 1.12 million  
**2001 REVENUE:** \$1.8 billion  
**CHAIRMAN & CEO:** Peter R. Kann  
Leave it to Dow Jones and Company to make sure that the daily plunderings of the Wall Street business elite garner a worldwide audience. *The Wall Street Journal* has European, Asian, Russian, and classroom editions, in addition to control of magazines like *Baron's*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, and *Smart Money*. But no one receives their stock updates by newsprint alone. Dow Jones maintains joint ownership of CNBC-Asia and CNBC-Europe together with NBC. Outside the financial beltway, Dow Jones Company also owns Ottawa Newspapers Inc., the publisher of 13 daily and 12 weekly newspapers including *Traverse City Record-Eagle* of Traverse City, Mich.; *The Herald of Portsmouth*, N.H.; and 23 other "community" papers.

**OTHER HOLDINGS:** The Dow Jones Industrial Average, "the oldest continuous barometer of the U.S. stock market."

### New York Times Co.

**LOCAL HOLDINGS:** *New York Times*, WQXR 96.3 FM & WQEW 1560 AM  
**TIMES CIRCULATION:** 1.12 million  
**2001 REVENUE:** \$3 billion  
**CHAIRMAN & PUBLISHER:** Arthur Sulzberger Jr.  
"All the news that's fit to print" ...

whether you live Massachusetts, New York, or South Florida. In addition to its namesake, the *New York Times* Company owns both *The Boston Globe* and the nearby *Worcester Telegram and Gazette*, giving Sulzberger a stranglehold on the Massachusetts media scene. Taking the lead from its rivals at Dow Jones and Co., the Times recently purchased The Regional Newspaper Group, which publishes 15 "local" newspapers, including *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* in Sarasota, FL; *The Press Democrat* in Santa Rosa, CA; *The Ledger*, in Lakeland, FL; and 12 other papers. *The Times* owns the only private classical music station in New York City, WQXR 96.3 FM, and operates the official New York outlet for Radio Disney, WQEW 1560 AM. The company also owns local TV stations in eight markets across the country, as well as *Family Circle*, *Golf Digest*, and *Tennis Magazine*.

**OTHER HOLDINGS:** Two paper mills in the United States and Canada, as well as two newspaper distribution companies.

### Daily News LP

**LOCAL HOLDINGS:** *NY Daily News*  
**DAILY NEWS CIRCULATION:** 733,000  
**1999 REVENUE:** \$450 million  
**CHAIRMEN & CO-PUBLISHERS:** Mortimer B. Zuckerman; Fred Drasner The closest thing left to a mom-and-pop newspaper operation left in New York City is the money-losing *Daily News*, owned by real estate magnate Mortimer Zuckerman and his long time associate Fred Drasner. After he sold the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1999, Zuckerman was left holding "only" the

*Daily News* and the magazine *U.S. News and World Report*, as well as new media company Applied Graphics Technologies.

**OTHER HOLDINGS:** Zuckerman is owner of Boston Properties, Inc. – a real estate firm with more than 40 million sq. ft. of space in 150 offices, hotels, and industrial properties in the nation's most exclusive real estate markets: Boston, Manhattan, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.

### Tribune Company

**LOCAL HOLDINGS:** *Newsday* and WPIX-TV, CH 11 (WB)  
**CIRCULATION:** 579,000  
**1999 REVENUE:** \$5.25 billion  
**CHAIRMAN & CEO:** John W. Madigan  
*Newsday* is a tiny slice of the truly gargantuan media empire controlled by the Tribune Company, which also owns the *LA Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Baltimore Sun*, among other dailies. Tribune has also made a strong push in the Spanish-language news market, with ownership of *La Opinion*, *Exitel Hoy*, and *El Sentinel*. Tribune has invested heavily in television, holding a 22% stake in the nationwide WB-Network and a 31% stake in cable TV's The Food Network, in addition to owning twenty-two metropolitan-area TV stations around the nation. Tribune's simultaneous ownership of the New York station WPIX-11 and *Newsday* is technically illegal under the Federal Communication Commission's television-newspaper cross-ownership rule. However, the commission has ruled that the regulation does not affect

*Tribune* until 2007 when the WPIX license comes up for renewal. Tribune has multiple web-ventures, including [cars.com](#), [apartments.com](#), [black-voices.com](#), and [chicagosports.com](#)

**OTHER HOLDINGS:** Those lovable losers, the Chicago Cubs.

### News Corp. Limited

**LOCAL HOLDINGS:** *The New York Post*; WNYW-TV, Ch. 5 (Fox) and WWOR-TV, Ch. 9 (UPN)

**NY POST CIRCULATION:** 562,000

**2001 REVENUE:** \$16.34 billion

**CHAIRMAN & CEO:** Rupert Murdoch If one man decides what is and what isn't news in New York City, it's Rupert Murdoch, CEO of NewsCorp and owner of the *New York Post*. Like the Tribune Company, NewsCorp stands in violation of the FCC's cross-ownership rule for its ownership of WNYW-5 (Fox), WWOR-9 (UPN), and the *Post*. Murdoch's purchase of the paper in 1993 earned him a "lifetime exemption" from the rule and his purchase of WWOR slipped through the FCC cracks as well. NewsCorp is truly a media giant. It owns Fox Broadcasting Company; 20th Century Fox films; Harper Collins book publishers; STAR satellite TV; the National Geographic Channel; over one-hundred and eighty daily newspapers on three continents including the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Sun*, and the *News of the World*; *The Weekly Standard*; *TV Guide* magazine ... the list goes on and on...  
**OTHER HOLDINGS:** The Los Angeles Dodgers and the classy National Rugby League.